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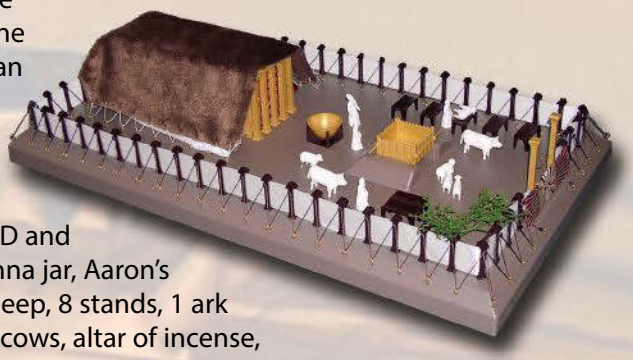

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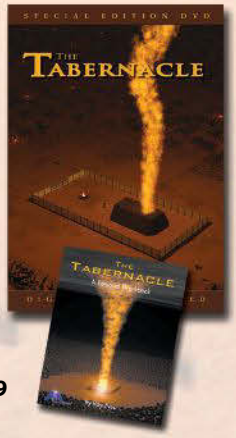

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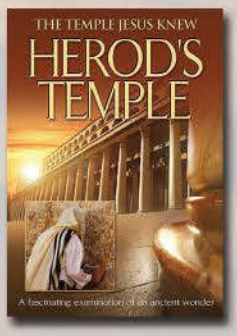

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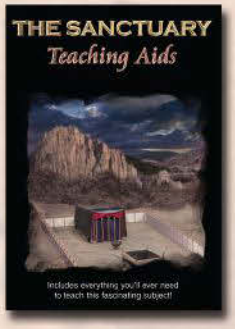

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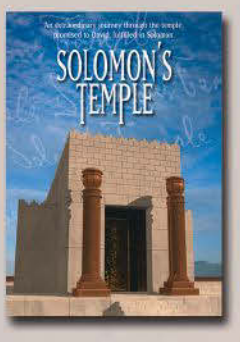
Solomon's Temple



Take an extraordinary journey through the temple, promised to David, fulfilled in Solomon. This program gives a basic introduction to the colossal achievement of Solomon's Temple and details its design, construction, and meaning for Israel. Solomon's Temple was destroyed in 586 B.C., but through the use of modern computer graphics, the Temple is reconstructed visually to provide a contemporary experience of its ritual, beauty, and grandeur. Documentary, 96 minutes.

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ON THE COVER: Doves perch on the rim of a krater. This scene is part of a mosaic at Lod, Israel, which was discovered in 2009 and excavated in 2014. The mosaic was found in the courtyard of the Roman house at Lod—the same house where the famous Lod Mosaic was uncovered in 1996.

PHOTO BY ASSAF PERETZ, IAA

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31 **Exodus Evidence: An Egyptologist Looks at Biblical History**
Does archaeological evidence connect with Israel's Exodus from Egypt—a central event in the Bible? Egyptian artifacts and sites show that the Biblical text does indeed recount accurate memories from the period to which the Exodus is generally assigned.

38 **The Lod Mosaic—Jewish, Christian or Pagan?**
A series of stunning mosaic floors dated to around 300 C.E. were uncovered in Lod, Israel. Plants, birds, fish and animals are depicted in the mosaics—but no human figures. Who made these mosaics?

43 **"And His Brothers Were Jealous of Him": Surprising Parallels Between Joseph and King Esarhaddon of Assyria**
Eckart Frahm
Even though he was not the oldest of his brothers, Esarhaddon was named heir apparent of his father Sennacherib, ruler of the Assyrian empire. But because of his jealous brothers, Esarhaddon had to leave Nineveh and take refuge elsewhere. The pattern of jealous brothers, exile and eventual success is also seen in the Biblical story of Joseph. How does one tale inform the other?

51 **Ancient Jerusalem: The Village, the Town, the City**
Archaeologist Hillel Geva says that population estimates for ancient Jerusalem are too high. His new estimates begin with people living on no more than a dozen acres.

54 **From Eden to Ednah—Lilith in the Garden**
Dan Ben-Amos
Who were the original humans that God created in the Garden of Eden: Adam and Eve? Or Adam and Lilith? A close look at the opening chapters of Genesis—and ancient Jewish mythology—may suggest that Lilith came before Eve!

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ON THE WEB

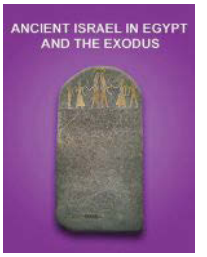
How the Serpent Became Satan

biblicalarchaeology.org/serpent

The serpent of Eden is portrayed as just that: a serpent. The story in Genesis 2–3 contains no hint that he embodies the devil, Satan or any other evil power. So where does the devil come into the details of Eden? In a post written exclusively for Bible History Daily, Shawna Dolansky of Carleton University in Ottawa, Ontario, examines how the serpent became Satan.

Ancient Israel in Egypt and the Exodus

biblicalarchaeology.org/exodusebook



The Exodus is one of the most dramatic events in the Hebrew Bible—the slavery of the Israelites in Egypt and their miraculous escape across the Red Sea. It is traditionally viewed as the single event that gave birth to the nation of Israel. Is there archaeological evidence for the Exodus and for Israelites in Egypt? See "Exodus Evidence" in this issue, and learn what other top scholars say in this free eBook.

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Noah and the Genesis Flood

biblicalarchaeology.org/noah

What do textual and archaeological sources tell us about Noah and the flood story? In a BAS Library Special Collection, BAS editors have hand-selected articles from **BAR** and *Bible Review* that examine the Genesis flood, its interpretations and what similar Babylonian flood stories can teach us.

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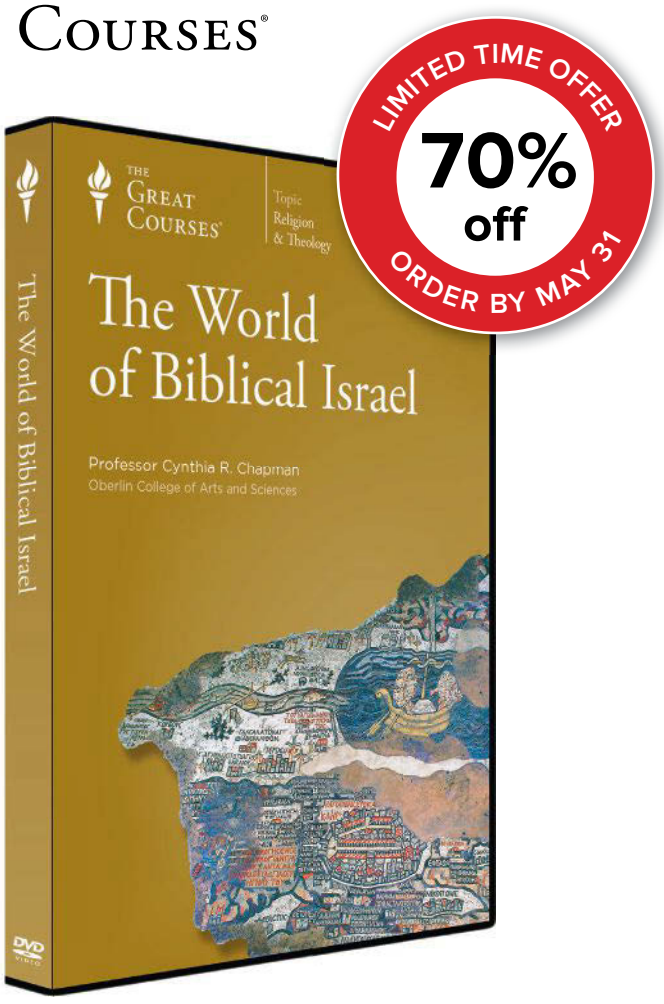

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Where is the paleographer who says it's a fake?

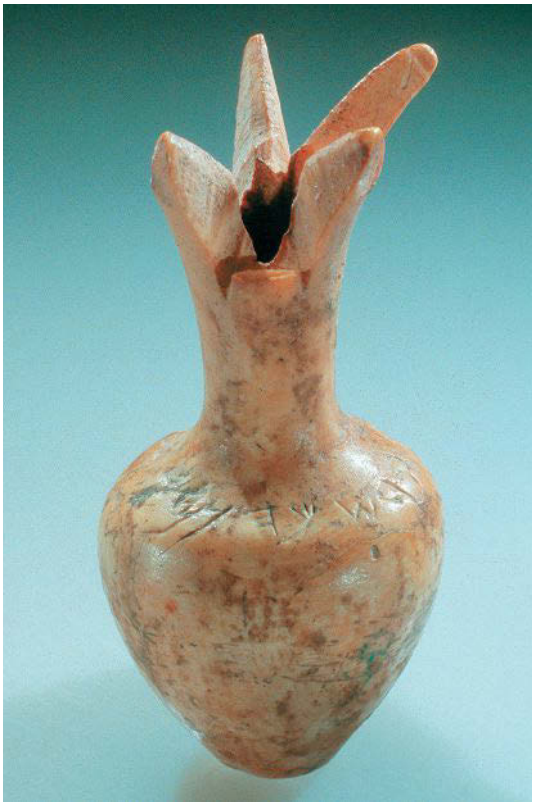
A Scepter from the Temple?

In the previous **BAR**, we discussed at some length whether the inscribed ivory pomegranate was authentic, and we concluded that it was.* We will not repeat that here. This article will be confined to the reasons we are confident that it is authentic.

But first a note on authenticity. To be precise, we should say we are confident it is not a forgery—for no inscription can ever be proven to be authentic. Or to put it slightly differently, an inscription can *never* be proven to be authentic. There is always some as-yet unknown test that would unmask the forger. Even an object excavated in a professional excavation can be a forgery; some worker, for example, may have salted the forgery in an excavation. Or it is even possible that the archaeologist who heads the excavation is a forger who planted the forged object in an excavation square to gain fame.

But let's be reasonable. There is always a technical

*Hershel Shanks, "Ivory Pomegranate: Under the Microscope at the Israel Museum," **BAR**, March/April 2016.



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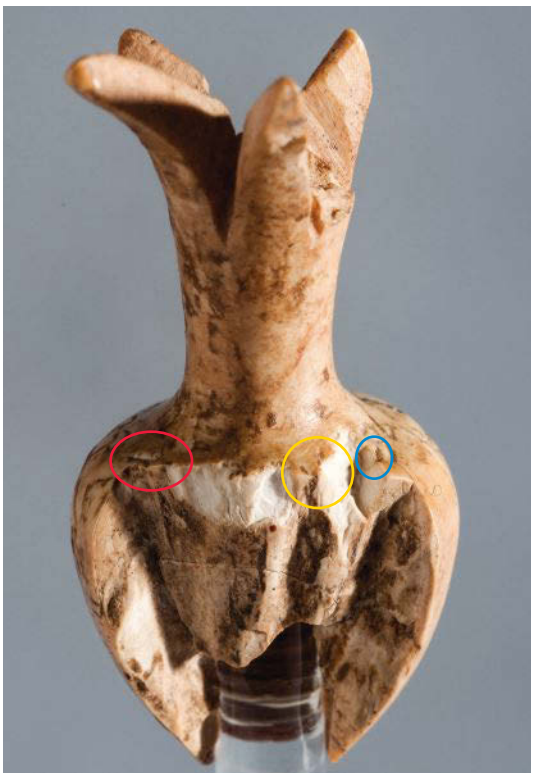
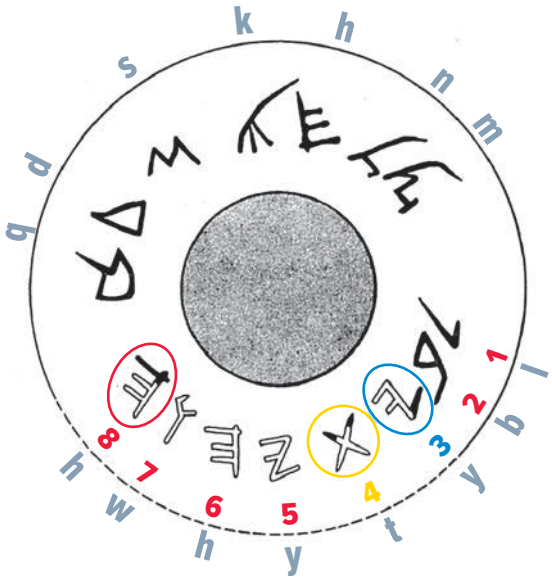


ISRAEL MUSEUM, JERUSALEM

SOLOMONIC RELIC? The famous inscribed ivory pomegranate (above right), whose authenticity has been questioned, may have been the head of a scepter from Solomon's Temple. Its inscription, as partially reconstructed, reads as follows: *lby[t yhw]h qdsû khnm*, or "Belonging to the Tem[ple of Yahwe]h, holy to the priests." The paleo-Hebrew letters *yod* (blue), *taw* (yellow) and *heh* (red) have been reconstructed from the broken portion of the pomegranate (below right and left) by paleographer André Lemaire and others.



possibility that an excavated inscription is a forgery. But that's highly, highly, highly unlikely. So we will speak loosely—and when an object is shown beyond a reasonable doubt *not* to be a forgery—we will say that it is authentic even though there is this remote chance that it is a forgery.

The first reason I believe the inscribed ivory pomegranate is authentic is that experts tells me so. André Lemaire, Ada Yardeni, Robert Deutsch—internationally recognized paleographers—tell me so. Few, if any, of our readers are equipped to make an independent judgment on this. So we must rely on experts. It is relevant that no paleographer (ancient writing expert) has come out and declared the inscription to be a forgery.

Interestingly enough, the two experts in reading scripts (but not in detecting forgeries)—Shmuel Ahituv and Aaron Demsky—have declined to return to the Israel Museum to re-examine the pomegranate inscription after Ada Yardeni, André Lemaire and Robert Deutsch all have agreed that the inscription is authentic.

Although few of us can make an independent judgment, we can attempt to follow the experts' reasoning.

The inscription sits on the shoulder of the pomegranate ball (or grenade, as scholars call it). The inscription is only partially preserved, however, because about a third of the ball of the pomegranate has been broken off—and, of course, with it, the part of the inscription sitting on the shoulder of this part of the pomegranate ball. Actually, there are three breaks—two modern and one ancient—that have been chipped off the pomegranate ball. As a result of these breaks, several letters of the inscription are not there. And three letters of the inscription are only partially there. The original inscription, as partially reconstructed, reads as follows:

lby[t yhw]h qdsû khnm

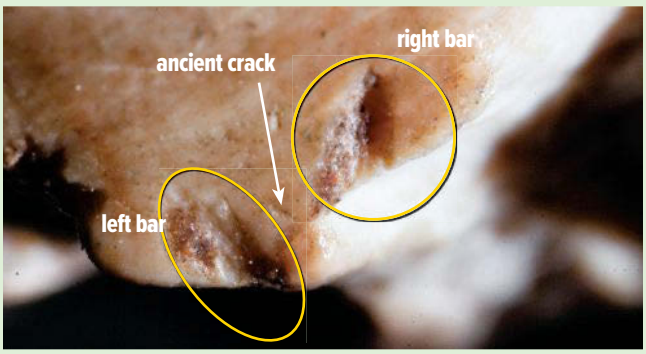
Under the Microscope: Ivory Pomegranate Inscription

Robert Deutsch

Scholars have debated at length whether the letters as reconstructed from the ivory pomegranate inscription are authentic. Do they actually go into the old break, or do they stop just short of the break—the latter of which suggests that the inscription is a modern forgery? In a meeting at the Israel Museum in June 2015, paleographers André Lemaire, Ada Yardeni and I studied the inscription together, focusing particularly on the letter *taw*. We each agreed that this crucial letter did in fact go into the old break and is thus ancient. Here, I analyze digital photos of the letter *taw*, which were taken by Reflectance Transformation Imaging specialist Bruce Zuckerman of the University of Southern California.

Looking at the image (right), the left bar of the letter *taw* was clearly broken in antiquity (notice the yellowish edge), while the right bar was damaged in modern times (see the white area). *Most important*, the left bar has a clear V-shape in the section, which demonstrates that the bar was not engraved in modern times and that the engraver did *not* stop before the breakage, as erroneously claimed by Yuval Goren.

The surface of the ivory pomegranate has a yellowish-brownish color caused by oxidation, often called a patina, which developed during the 3,000 years since its manufacture. This extremely fine layer of oxidation seals the surface, and under it the ivory remained white, as seen in the modern breakage. Any modern attempt to engrave on the ivory's surface will expose the white material and thus indicate the modern engraving.



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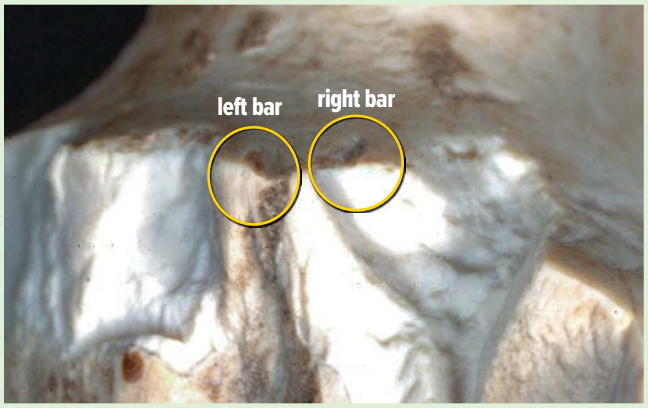

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The cleaning and conservation of the pomegranate were done by Rafi Brown, the former chief restorer of the Israel Museum, upon the request of the collector. The modern breakages (the white spots) were made before Brown received it for conservation.[1]

The same phenomenon is also clearly visible in the image at left: The left bar of the *taw* was undoubtedly broken in antiquity (the yellowish edge) and doesn't end before the breakage, while the right bar was damaged in modern times (the white area).

An additional detail, unnoticed by Goren, is an ancient crack between the two bars of the *taw*. This explains the modern breakage, which is in fact the reason for the missing rim fragment. The modern breakage is in line with the ancient crack.

Robert Deutsch is an archaeologist, epigrapher, numismatist and antiquities dealer who specializes in ancient West Semitic inscriptions from the First Temple Period, Jewish iconography and ancient coins.

[1] Personal comm.

HERSHEL SHANKS

PLETHORA OF POMEGRANATES. This display at the Israel Museum, Jerusalem features a variety of pomegranates from the Iron Age, the same period from which the inscribed ivory pomegranate purports to be.

"Belonging to the Tem[ple of Yahwe]h, holy to the priests."

Here is another drawing showing the letters in a circle around a restored shoulder (see p. 6).

As you can see, three letters are entirely missing, and three letters are partially missing (and partially preserved). One of these letters (no. 3—*yod*) goes into a modern break, so it is irrelevant (this proves only that the letter was engraved before the modern break, not that it was ancient). That leaves two letters that go into the old break—or do they?

This turns out to be a crucial, determinative question. If they go into the old break, they were there before the old break and therefore the inscription must be old or, rather, ancient—and not a forgery. On the other hand, if they stop before the old break, the forger—yes, the forger—did not want to go into the old break and stopped just before reaching the break.

So the central question became whether these two letters stop before the break or go into the break.

As to the letter on the left (no. 8—a *heh*) the answer is still unclear. So all attention focused on the other partial letter in question—letter no. 4, a *taw*.

The answer is now clear. After much back and forth—as described in the previous issue of **BAR**—all agree that this letter *does* go into the old break, and therefore it provides no evidence for forgery. On the contrary, it demonstrates the opposite. The inscription is authentic.

If this is so, then there is a good chance the tiny pomegranate is the head of a scepter (there is a hole in the bottom of the pomegranate to insert the scepter rod) that was used in the Temple. The inscription (as restored) contains a mention of "Yahweh," the Israelite God.

That this pomegranate was intended as the head of a scepter for use in a temple is suggested by the numerous similar-sized ivory pomegranates recovered elsewhere from excavations of this time period. Rods for the pomegranate scepter head have also been recovered archaeologically. An additional number of rods have been found without their pomegranates.

My own speculation is that this pomegranate was recovered in an archaeological excavation adjacent to the Temple Mount and then quickly pocketed by a workman. Or perhaps it was recovered by someone on the Temple Mount itself.—**H.S.**

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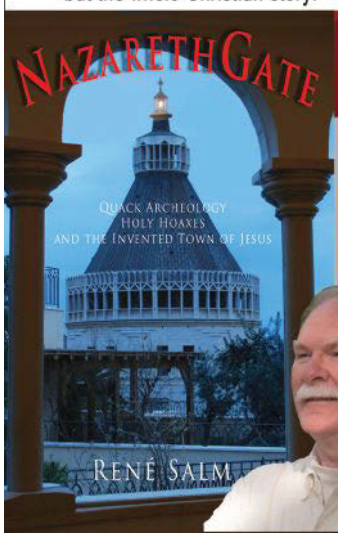

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The Bible's value to ascertaining the origins of Israel? The baculum battle rages on! BAR—a faith strengthener?

The Bible vs. Archaeology—Colliding Viewpoints: The Backstory

This issue of **BAR** contains an extraordinary exchange of letters among giants of the profession that may have no precedent.

It all began quite innocently. In each issue of **BAR**, we publish a short quotation from the work of a major archaeological or Biblical scholar in a department called "In Their Own Words." In the January/February 2016 issue, this department consisted of six lines by Peter Machinist of Harvard University. In his quotation, Machinist examines whether the Bible should be considered in a search for Israel's origins in Palestine. His answer is yes.

This evoked a heated response from the famed excavator of Gezer, William G. Dever. Peter is a "friend and colleague" of nearly 50 years, wrote Dever, but "absolutely *no* archaeologist today" regards the Bible as historically valuable in understanding Israel's emergence in Canaan. "Precisely the opposite" is the case.

Dever bolstered his case by citing the work of several leading archaeologists, including Ann Killebrew, Ami Mazar and Larry Stager.

But Dever did not get much comfort from the scholars he cites, to whom we sent Dever's response. For example, Harvard's Larry Stager wrote us, "My view on the relationship of the Bible and archaeology is much closer to Machinist's than to Dever's, as anyone would know who has read my articles and books over the last 45 years."

Ami Mazar writes, "Basically I agree with Peter's statement. If we would have to rely on archaeology alone, we would not be able to say anything about Israel until the ninth century B.C.E."

Ann Killebrew edges a bit closer to Dever. "Both Machinist and Dever are correct in their own way ... I have no problem with Bill [Dever] referring to me, but I also understand where Peter Machinist is coming from."

Below we print William Dever's reply to Peter Machinist's "In Their Own Words" and the responses by Killebrew, Mazar and Stager.**—Ed.**

Dever's Fiery Response

In response to Peter Machinist (**BAR**, January/February 2016)—a close friend and colleague for nearly 50 years—I must point out that absolutely *no* archaeologist today views the Biblical narrative of Israel's origins in Canaan as "the arena within which the nonbiblical data have finally to make sense" or within which they "finally ... acquire a specific, concrete historical identity."

The fact is precisely the *opposite* case for writing any new history of ancient Israel in any era. In view of the progress of our two disciplines (archaeology and Bible), the archaeological data more often illumine the Biblical text, rarely the other way around.

I could give you hundreds of case studies to show that (1) these two sources for history writing are *independent* and must be kept so in the initial inquiry in the interest of honest scholarship; (2) the key is the *comparison* of the two classes of data in order to establish "convergences," if any; and (3) in many cases it is the new *archaeological* data that will prove primary, not the textual data.

If there is any doubt, read the Book of Joshua; then read any recent archaeological discussion of Israelite origins; then decide which offers the more believable, more reliable "historical identity." That would include books authored by me, Ann Killebrew and Avi Faust—as well as many publications by Israel Finkelstein, Ami Mazar, Larry Stager and others.

The Hebrew Bible may sometimes help to determine how Israel "remembered" its origins, but often the Bible has "invented" these origins (or created its "cultural memory" to use the term now in vogue). Israel's "experiences," even if often imaginary, were indeed formative for the *later tradition* preserved in the Bible, but that is more theology than history.

Until we all understand our two disciplines more clearly—and courageously—there will be little progress toward a useful

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Reported by J. Page

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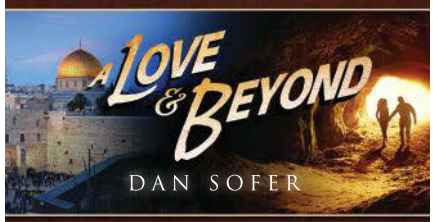

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dialogue. And that is a desideratum on which I think that Peter and I will agree.

Sincerely yours,

WILLIAM G. DEVER
PROFESSOR EMERITUS
UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA
DISTINGUISHED VISITING PROFESSOR
LYCOMING COLLEGE
WILLIAMSPORT, PENNSYLVANIA

Killebrew: Text and Archaeology Complement Each Other

In my opinion, they (Machinist and Dever) are both correct in their own way. In any attempt to reconstruct the early Iron Age of the southern Levant and questions regarding the emergence of Israel, both the textual (Biblical and non-Biblical) and archaeological evidence are all part of the primary data and complement each other, even though at times they may appear to be somewhat contradictory. I have no problem with Bill Dever referring to me, but I also understand where Peter Machinist is coming from.

ANN KILLEBREW
ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR
PENN STATE
UNIVERSITY PARK, PENNSYLVANIA

Mazar: We Cannot Rely on Archaeology Alone

Basically I agree with Peter Machinist's statement. If we would have to rely on archaeology alone, we would not be able to say anything about Israel until the ninth century B.C.E., except the one mention in the Merneptah Stele in the late 13th century.* The Iron I settlement wave in the highland would be silent and no more meaningful than the similar settlement wave of the Middle Bronze Age 500 years earlier. It is only the Biblical tradition that provides clues to the identity and context of these archaeological phenomena. But whether they arrived from outside or were insiders, I still cannot say for sure. Most of them were probably insiders.

AMIHAI MAZAR
PROFESSOR EMERITUS
INSTITUTE OF ARCHAEOLOGY
THE HEBREW UNIVERSITY OF JERUSALEM
JERUSALEM, ISRAEL

*See Hershel Shanks, "When Did Ancient Israel Begin?" **BAR**, January/February 2012; Avraham Faust, "How Did Israel Become a People?" **BAR**, November/December 2009; "The Merneptah Stela: Israel Enters History," **BAR**, July/August 1997.

Stager: Closer to Machinist's Viewpoint than to Dever's

My view on the relationship of Bible and archaeology is much closer to Machinist's than to Dever's, as anyone would know who has read my articles and books over the last 45 years. One of the most popular books expressing the importance of texts, including the Bible, and archaeology is *Life in Biblical Israel* by Philip J. King and Lawrence E. Stager (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2011).

LAWRENCE STAGER
DOROT PROFESSOR OF THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF ISRAEL
HARVARD UNIVERSITY
CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS

BACULUM

Happy to Think for Myself

I have neither a Rev. at the beginning of my name, nor an M.D. or Ph.D. following it. I am a simple layman. But I grew up enjoying and appreciating science. Evolution was drilled into me for such a long time that I once considered it fact. When I saw it conflicted with my adult-found Christianity and Bible knowledge, there was conflict. I believe in the Bible because a few decades of study and research have convinced me of its truth. I feel the same way about science. Science actually enhances my Bible study. That is why I enjoy **BAR** so much. It makes me think. It makes me research. It makes me challenge my beliefs. Do I believe everything in **BAR**? No. But I appreciate the opportunity to think for myself. Such articles as Ziony Zevit's "Was Eve Made from Adam's Rib—or His Baculum?" (**BAR** September/October 2015) do not hinder my faith; they strengthen it.

STEVEN HOFFMAN
FARMER CITY, ILLINOIS

The Final Straw

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REV. JOHN MILLER
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CONTINUES ON PAGE 65

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STRATA

Ancient Apiary on Display

"And I have come down to deliver them from the Egyptians, and to bring them up out of that land to a good and broad land, a land flowing with milk and honey" (Exodus 3:8). This promise to bring the Israelites into a good land appears in the Book of Exodus; the Lord speaks it to Moses from the burning bush.

While we know this refers to the land of Israel, what does "flowing with milk and honey" mean? We've dissected it before,* but a new exhibit at the Eretz Israel Museum curated by Irit Ziffer, *It Is the Land of Honey*, looks at this question anew—allowing you to step into this ancient land with its abundant supply of milk and honey.

In the Hebrew Bible, milk can refer to actual milk or a milk product, such as yogurt or cheese; honey means the syrup from smashed fruit, such as dates, or bee's honey. Of the 55 times that honey appears in the Hebrew Bible, only twice does it specify bee's honey (Judges 14:8–9 and 1 Samuel 14:27)—both of which reference wild bees. Scholars used to believe that the other mentions of honey always referred to fruit honey, which was the common sweetener in ancient times. For example, it makes perfect sense for honey, as the byproduct of fruit, to appear among the list of seven plants native to the land of Israel in Deuteronomy 8:8. After all, there was no evidence for domesticated bees in Israel.

However, recent archaeological discoveries show that the ancient Israelites did indeed keep bees. This coupled with new readings of these Biblical passages have caused many to reevaluate this accepted interpretation. It seems that some of the 53 appearances of honey in the Hebrew Bible once thought to mean fruit honey actually mean bee's honey.

The industry of beekeeping, particularly at Tel Rehov, is highlighted in the exhibit *It Is the Land of Honey*. Tel Rehov, a site in the northern Jordan Valley, was excavated by Amihai Mazar of the Hebrew University between 1997 and 2012. Although Tel Rehov is not mentioned in the Bible, it is nevertheless an important archaeological site for understanding the rise and fall of Israel's United Monarchy.

One of the largest Iron Age sites in Israel, Tel Rehov has yielded discoveries from the tenth and ninth centuries B.C.E., the time alluded to in the Bible as that of David, Solomon and the first kings of the divided kingdoms of Israel and Judah. Among these discoveries was an apiary (beehive installation)—the only such industry ever discovered in an archaeological excavation—with remains of bees imported from Anatolia inside the clay hives.** The site's architecture, as well as cult objects, a rich assemblage of pottery, inscriptions and other artifacts, indicate that Rehov was one of the most affluent and impressive cities during the Iron Age IIA in the land of Israel before it was severely destroyed in the ninth century B.C.E., probably

*William H.C. Propp, "Milk and Honey," *Bible Review*, June 1999.

Amihai Mazar and Nava Panitz-Cohen, "To What God?" **BAR, July/August 2008; Strata: "Turkish Delight: Ancient Israelites Import Honeybees," **BAR**, November/December 2010.

IN HISTORY

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JUNE 10, 1190 C.E.
Holy Roman Emperor Frederick I (also known as Frederick Barbarossa—*Barbarossa* means "red beard" in Italian) drowned in the Saleph River in Turkey while leading an army to Jerusalem during the Third Crusade.

LEONID PADRUL-KWITKOWSKI, MUSA ERETZ ISRAEL MUSEUM TEL-AVIV

LAND OF HONEY. On display are the remains of charred honeycombs in which remains of Anatolian honey bees were found (in petri dishes, front left), a modern reconstruction of honeycombs (back left), the removable clay lid of a beehive (front right) and the closed end of a cylindrical beehive with a flying hole (back right).

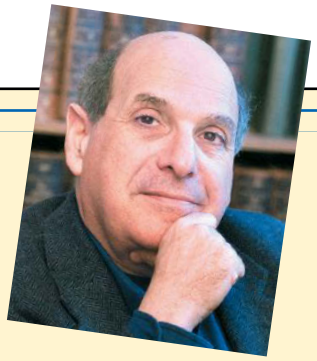
during Aramean attacks led by Hazael, king of Damascus.

It Is the Land of Honey will run through this June and is complemented by an illustrated catalog written by Mazar and longtime staff member Nava Panitz-Cohen. It will feature the spectacular discoveries from Rehov—many on display for the first time—including the extraordinary apiary.

This may be the closest you can get to walking through the ancient land of milk and honey!

Of Biblical Proportions

Leonard J. Greenspoon



In a column published in fall 2004,* I discovered that excessive rain and other manifestations of nature-produced pain were the most common occurrences that writers in the popular press associated with the expression "of Biblical proportions." Sensing that little if anything remains static, I decided to see what if any changes had occurred in this usage over the intervening years.

Always aiming for the cutting edge, I limited my search for the most part to stories appearing in 2015 and the first part of 2016. Although this expression seems (at least to me) of hoary origins, its first usage is from the mid-20th century (C.E., not B.C.E.!). However, antiquarians should not feel slighted in the least: The use of the adjective "Biblical" to mean "huge" has a much more storied pedigree, going back to the Middle English poem "Piers Plowman" (late 1300s).

Rains of "Biblical proportions" are a seasonal staple in Great Britain, as can be seen with this story from the *Dover Express*: "Last week's thunderstorm was of Biblical proportions. It was so severe that I'd almost started to gather up the animals two by two." With no distinctions between clean and unclean species!

The *Irish Independent* features two stories about the buoyancy of humans confronted by the travails of flooding: "Amid a downpour of almost Biblical proportions, Chelsea [the soccer team] were finally waving, not drowning ... In the precipitation there was certainly perspiration ... There were outstanding performances from back to front."

So much for the human body. Now for the human spirit! "Even floods of near Biblical proportions couldn't stop one elderly resident from attending Mass. Offaly native Evelyn Kennedy (97) wasn't going to be deterred by the deluge, which has seen her family marooned for the past month ... So the family mounted a chair on the tractor's transport box, and Evelyn was wrapped up in warm clothes for the quarter-mile." Score one for the priority of prayer!

Regular readers of this column know that I have a hankering, which can be aptly described as "of Biblical proportions," for the inclusion of as many sports-related stories as I can get away with. So as not to disappoint, here is another—distinguished from the previous ones by the fact that there's no rain, sleet, hail or volcanic ash involved here. From *WalesOnline*, rugby coach "Shaun Edwards has revealed the Biblical proportions of Wales' World Cup win at Twickenham when even the local parish priest at Sunday morning mass ... found himself caught up in the post match celebration ... 'I went to mass, and even the priest came out and put his hands up in the air to celebrate,' said Edwards."

Not one to save the best for last, I have nonetheless in this instance saved to report last that which is most meaningful to me and my work. It comes from *The Times* of London and bears the title "Error of Biblical Proportions Will Pay Off in the End." It refers to "a 400-year-old Bible containing a rare typo in the Ten Commandments, urging people to have affairs. [It] is expected to sell for £15,000. It is one of nine remaining copies known as the Sinners' Bible, or the Wicked Bible, printed in 1631. The seventh commandment is missing the word 'not' so states 'thou shall commit adultery.'" Taking inflation, etc., into account, we calculate that the fine imposed on the 17th-century printers was three times the price the Bible was expected to fetch at auction in the 21st. Yes indeed, the error would be paying off, just not for the hapless Robert Barker and Martin Lucas, the printers of the Sinners' Bible!

*Leonard J. Greenspoon, Jots & Tittles: "The Bible in the News," *Bible Review*, October 2004.

MILESTONES

TRUDE DOTHAN (1922–2016)

Professor Trude Dothan, among the pantheon of Israeli archaeologists whose intensive research in Philistine and Mediterranean studies dramatically broadened the scope of Israeli archaeology, passed away after a long illness on January 28, 2016. Trude's groundbreaking scholarship and her professional leadership role at a time long before there was a strong woman's movement had a profound and lasting impact not only on her students and colleagues, but on the discipline of the Archaeology of ancient Israel.

Born in Vienna in 1922, Trude came to Palestine with her parents in 1925. Beginning her archaeological studies at the Hebrew University in the 1940s, she earned an M.A. and then her Ph.D. writing on *The Material Culture of the Philistines*. Published in 1982, it remains one of the primary resources for the study of the Philistines and other Sea Peoples. Appointed the Eliezer L. Sukenik Professor of Archaeology in 1985, Trude also was the first director of the Philip and Muriel Berman Center for Biblical Archaeology at the Hebrew University.

Trude was the youngest field archaeologist in the watershed experience for Israeli archaeologists, the excavations at Hazor from 1955 to 1958 directed by Yigael Yadin. Subsequently, she codirected the excavations at En Gedi and at Athienou on Cyprus. She led the excavations at Deir el-Balaḥ, and from 1981 to 1996 she codirected with Seymour Gitin the joint Albright/Hebrew University excavations at Tel Miqne-Ekron. Trude authored and coauthored numerous books and articles. Together with her husband, the late archaeologist Moshe Dothan, she wrote the popular volume *Peoples of the Sea: The Search for the Philistines*.

Trude was awarded the Israel Prize for Archaeology and the Israel Museum Percia Schimmel Award for Distinguished Contributions to the Archaeology of the Land of Israel. The volume *Mediterranean Peoples in Transition: Thirteenth to Early Tenth Centuries BCE* was published in her honor, and *The Trude Dothan Lectureship in Ancient Near Eastern Studies*, a series of presentations by renowned international scholars, was endowed by the Dorot Foundation at the Albright Institute.

This is the way most of us will remember Trude—for her many contributions to the field of Israeli archaeology. As for me, during the more than 30 years of working closely together, I came to appreciate Trude's more personal nature: her friendship, her ability to relate to people and her sense of humor. Trude had her own way about her, and there were so many shared experiences that reflect her unique nature, joy of life, infectious enthusiasm and passion for her work. To her two sons, Dani and Uri, and the Dothan family, you should know that Trude will be sorely missed. And I shall have lost an endearing partner whose presence will ever be with me, especially in the work to come in our joint Miqne publications.

May her memory be blessed. Yehi zichrah baruch.

—Seymour Gitin

WHAT IS IT?

© THE ISRAEL MUSEUM, JERUSALEM BY ARDON BAR HAMA

A Razor

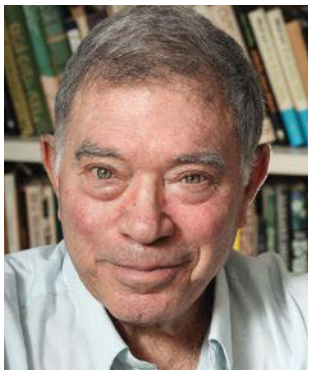
B Crowbar

C Fire poker

D Cane

E Ruler

ANSWER ON P. 62



DAN PORGES

AVINOAM DANIN (1939–2015)

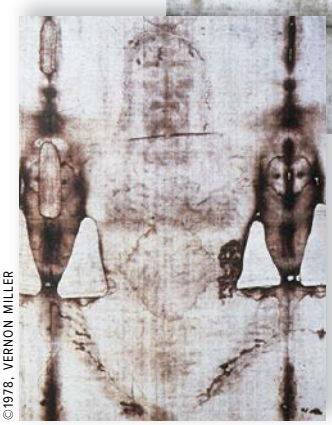
Noted Israeli botanist Avinoam Danin passed away on December 12, 2015, at the age of 76. At the time of his death, he was Associate Professor Emeritus of Botany at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

Danin's specialty was the vegetation of Israel, Sinai and Jordan, and throughout his career, he discovered dozens of new plant species and subspecies in the region.* He maintained a popular website with his son, Barak, called *Flora of Israel Online*, which offered comprehensive information on the plant life in Israel and surrounding areas.

In his work, Danin analyzed the flora of historic structures and artifacts such as Trajan's column in Rome, Jerusalem's Ottoman city walls, the Scottish Church (St. Andrews Hospice) in Jerusalem and, most famously, the Shroud of Turin.

The controversial Shroud of Turin, purported to be Jesus' burial shroud, is a 14-by-3.5-foot linen cloth that depicts front and back images of a man who appears to have been crucified. Radiocarbon testing conducted on the shroud dates it to the 13th–14th centuries. The shroud has been regarded as a relic, a forgery and even a work of art.

In the 1990s, Danin examined the botanical evidence associated with the shroud and published his findings in *Flora of the Shroud of Turin* (St. Louis: Missouri Botanical Garden Press, 1999) with coauthors Alan D. Whanger, Uri Baruch and Mary Whanger.** Danin detected on the shroud the images of four plant species that come from the area between Jerusalem and Hebron. These plant species, moreover, bloomed in March and April, thus suggesting that the shroud had been used during these months (i.e., around Easter). Danin and his coauthors concluded that the shroud dates to before the eighth century C.E. and was used near Jerusalem.



©1978, VERNON MILLER

AVINOAM DANIN, *BOTANY OF THE SHROUD* (JERUSALEM: DANIN PUBLISHING, 2010), FIG. 66.

ABOVE: Anthemis bornmueller flowers placed over floral images detected on the Shroud of Turin.

LEFT: The Shroud of Turin.

His updated study *Botany of the Shroud: The Story of Floral Images on the Shroud of Turin* (Jerusalem: Danin Publishing, 2010) includes an analysis of 3D images of the shroud, which, according to Danin, proved that the images of plants observed on the shroud were real.

Danin's life-long passion for botany began when he was a mere toddler.

"My parents told me that when I was 3 years old, I always said, 'Look, father, I found a flower,'" Danin said in an interview in 2012.[1] "My grandparents gave me the book *Analytical Flora of Palestine* on my 13th birthday—I checked off every plant I determined in the book's index of plant names."

From toddler to world-renowned expert, Avinoam Danin never lost his sense of wonder.

[1] Avi Solomon, "The Botany of Bible Lands: An Interview with Prof. Avinoam Danin," *Boing Boing*, January 2, 2012, boingboing.net/2012/01/02/the-botany-of-bible-lands-an.html.

*See Avinoam Danin, "Living Plants as Archaeological Artifacts," **BAR**, December 1975 and Avinoam Danin, "Plants as Biblical Metaphors," **BAR**, May/June 1979.

See Vaughn M. Bryant, Jr., "Does Pollen Prove the Shroud Authentic?" **BAR, November/December 2000.

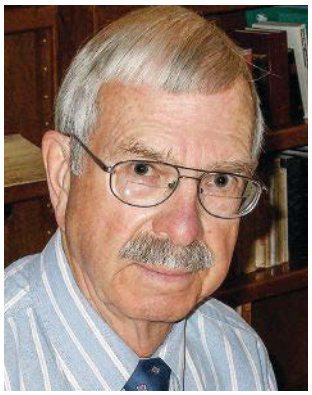
HOW MANY?

How many women are identified by name as praying in the Hebrew Bible?

ANSWER ON P. 62

JACK T. SANDERS (1935–2016)

Jack T. Sanders passed away on January 21, 2016, in Coeur d'Alene, Idaho, at the age of 80. Dr. Sanders served as the head of the Department of Religious Studies at the University of Oregon for many years before retiring in 2002. His work concentrated on the beginnings of conflict between Christians and Jews, as well as how religious ideas were accepted and adapted in various cultures. These studies resulted in many publications, including *Ethics in the New Testament* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1975), *The Jews in Luke-Acts* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1987) and *Schismatics, Sectarians, Dissidents, Deviants* (Valley Forge, PA: Trinity Press International, 1993). He also contributed an article to *Bible Review*.*



COURTESY OF SUSAN PLASS

During retirement he shifted his studies toward history, showcasing the role Jews played in the development of the West in a book titled *Samuel Rothchild: A Jewish Pioneer in Eastern Oregon in the Days of the Old West* (Pendleton, OR: Jack T. Sanders, 2011). He is survived by his wife, Susan Elizabeth Plass, and son, Collin Thomas.

*Jack T. Sanders, "Circumcision of Gentile Believers," *Bible Review*, February 1991.

HELMUT KOESTER (1926–2016)

The year was 1945, and 18-year-old German navy officer Helmut Koester became an American prisoner of war. He spent the remainder of the war in a German prisoner-of-war camp.

Under the shadow of World War II, Koester was confirmed into the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Germany. Romans 1:16, a verse he chose himself, was his mantra: "I am not ashamed of the Gospel; it is the power of God for salvation to everyone who has faith, to the Jew first and also to the Greek."

"I certainly did not fully realize then the implications of that statement," reflected Koester much later in life. "What I realized at that time, however, was the vision of an alternative that would enable me to hang on to my Christian identity in spite of all the compromises that were required to survive in evil times. Yet, I still thought I had to obey the authorities of the state and serve my country. Little did I know that it was this faith, of which the Epistle to the Romans speaks—the utter reliance upon God's loving acceptance—that would be the only thing that finally remained, when all the heroism and all the great deeds had been shattered and brought to naught."*

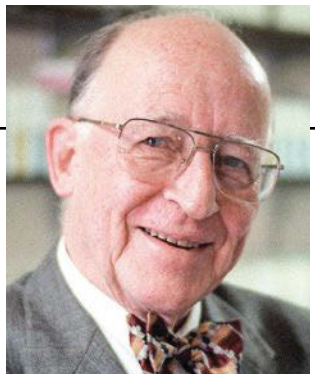
In the midst of Nazi Germany, this verse was a powerful choice and reflects the type of scholar and man Koester would become.

On January 1, 2016, at the age of 89, Helmut Koester died.

The John H. Morison Professor of New Testament Studies and Winn Professor of Ecclesiastical History Emeritus at Harvard Divinity School was one of the most eminent scholars of Christian Origins, with a career that spanned more than five decades. Drawing on his life verse, he is known for bridging boundaries both personally and professionally.

After the war Koester was released from the POW camp and studied theology at the University of Marburg under the direction of the legendary Rudolf Bultmann, earning his doctorate of theology (Th.D.) in 1954. He was ordained in the Lutheran Church in 1956, the year he became an assistant professor at the University of Heidelberg.

*Helmut Koester, "Paul, Christian Community and the Jews," *Bible Review*, June 1996.



Three years later he moved to America and joined the faculty at Harvard Divinity School, where he remained for the duration of his career. His students include such luminaries as Harry Attridge and Adela Yarbro Collins.

Koester received a Guggenheim Fellowship and American Council of Learned Societies Fellowships. He served as President of the Society of Biblical Literature and as an American Academy of Arts and Sciences fellow. Two tribute volumes have been written in his honor, and he was awarded two honorary doctorates.[1] Despite his official r etirement in 1998, he remained active with teaching and research until his death.

Koester wrote many scholarly books and articles, as well as pieces for the general public, particularly in **BAR** and *Bible Review*.

Koester's wife, Gisela, and four children survive him.—**E.W.**

[1] Birger A. Pearson, *The Future of Early Christianity: Essays in Honor of Helmut Koester* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991); James D. Smith III and Philip Sellew, eds., *The Fabric of Early Christianity: Reflections in Honor of Helmut Koester by Fifty Years of Harvard Students* (Eugene, OR: Pickwick Publications, 2007).

IN THEIR OWN WORDS

When were the Gospels written and by whom? The late Helmut Koester was the John H. Morison Professor of New Testament Studies and Winn Professor of Ecclesiastical History Emeritus at Harvard Divinity School and an expert on the historical Jesus, the New Testament and the emergence of Christianity (see obituary, opposite). In his book From Jesus to the Gospels: Interpreting the New Testament in Its Context, *he explores the complicated development of the canonical Gospels.*[1]

The fluid state of gospels and gospel traditions in the second century that is evident in a number of so-called apocryphal gospels raises the question of whether the gospels that later became canonical were not also subject to changes, additions and new editions. Except for the small fragment of the Gospel of John in [Papyrus] P52, no gospel manuscript written in the second century or fragments of such a gospel manuscript have survived. The earliest manuscripts of the canonical gospels date from around the year 200, mostly John and Luke. Matthew appears less often and Mark only 50 years later. What happened to these gospels in the time from their autograph to their earliest manuscript evidence? This does not concern the changes in the texts of the canonical gospels that are evident in the later manuscript tradition, such as the addition of the secondary ending of the Gospel of Mark and the addition of the story of the woman taken in adultery in John 7:59–8:11.

The question is made even more urgent because of what we know about the use in the second century of the four gospels that later became canonical. Marcion radically edited the Gospel of Luke for his new authoritative scriptures. Justin Martyr composed a harmony of the Synoptic Gospels, for the most part neglecting the Gospel of Mark. A bit later, his student Tatian composed a harmony of all four canonical gospels, including also the Gospel of John. Gospels that were later called apocryphal liberally used materials from the gospels that later became canonical and often combined freely their borrowings with surviving older sources and free "apocryphal" materials. Other gospels expanded sayings of Jesus to form dialogues of Jesus with his disciples—a process that already apparently had begun in the last decades of the first century, as is evident in the dialogues and discourses of the Gospel of John. Moreover, the memory of Jesus, especially in his sayings, was alive as the voice of the Savior that spoke again in new pronunciations through prophets and speakers of wisdom.

[1] Helmut Koester, *From Jesus to the Gospels: Interpreting the New Testament in Its Context* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2007).

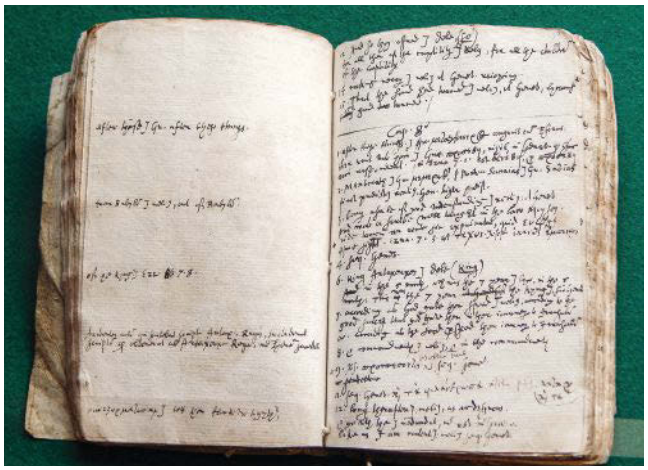
Notes of KJ Bible Translation

Surpassing masterpieces by Shakespeare, Jane Austen, Charles Dickens and Mark Twain as the most widely read work in English literature, the King James Bible is a feat of translation—with more than a billion copies published over the last 400 years. Recently, a notebook containing translation notes by Samuel Ward, one of the translators of the King James Bible, surfaced. Dated between 1604 and 1608 C.E., it is the earliest known draft of the King James Bible.

Commissioned by King James I of England in 1604, the King James Bible is both beautiful and scholarly. A team of about four dozen scholars, all members of the Church of England, worked on the King James Bible—translating it from the original Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek texts—and completed it in 1611. These scholars were divided into six teams, or "companies."

In fall 2014, Jeffrey Alan Miller of Montclair State University in New Jersey was looking through documents in the archives at Sidney Sussex College in Cambridge. It was there that he saw Samuel Ward's notebook (below) and realized that it contains translation notes for part of the Apocrypha: First Esdras and part of the Wisdom of Solomon.

This manuscript is especially significant because it shows the process of translation. Even though the translation teams were supposed to translate their sections of the King James Bible collectively, Ward's notes show that some of the translation work—at least at the initial stages—was done individually.



REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION OF THE MASTER AND FELLOWS OF SIDNEY SUSSEX COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE/PHOTOGRAPH BY MARIA ANNA ROGERS

Egyptian Archaeologists Fight, Too

Is Queen Nefertiti's tomb located within the spectacular tomb of King Tutankhamun (King Tut for short)?

This question has polarized some Egyptologists. In one camp, we have Egyptologist Nicholas Reeves—Director of the Amarna Royal Tombs Project and visiting scholar at the University of Arizona—who claims that Queen Nefertiti's burial chamber is actually located in a secret chamber behind the northern wall of King Tut's tomb.[1] Reeves first made this claim after examining high-resolution images of the tomb. He detected the outlines of two hidden doorways—one in the northern wall of King Tut's burial chamber and the other in its western wall. He suggests that Nefertiti's burial chamber and a smaller chamber are located behind these hidden doorways.

GIANNI DAGLI ORTI/THE ART ARCHIVE AT ART RESOURCE, NY

INSIDE King Tutankhamun's burial chamber.

New radar and infrared scans performed in November 2015 seemed to support Reeves's theory. Based on the new tests, Mamdouh el-Damaty, the current Egyptian Minister of Antiquities, believes there are very good odds—9 out of 10—that there are indeed chambers behind the walls of King Tut's tomb.

If Reeves is correct, Queen Nefertiti is buried in the space behind the northern wall.

CONTINUES ON PAGE 22

NEW BIBLE REPORTS

A Nabatean Temple North of Petra

Petra, Jordan, is the best-known Nabatean site. Made famous through poems, novels and even films—such as *Indiana Jones and the Last Crusade*—Petra was the commercial capital of the Nabatean empire. About 37 miles north of Petra, lay another significant Nabatean site: Khirbet et-Tannur. Located at the River Zered, a gorge that separates Moab from Edom, Khirbet et-Tannur features a Nabatean temple from the second century B.C.E to the fourth century C.E.

The Nabataean Temple at Khirbet et-Tannur:
Final Report on Nelson Glueck's 1937 Excavation, vol. 1, Architecture and Religion, and vol. 2, Cultic Offerings, Vessels, and other Specialist Reports, Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research 67–68

By Judith S. McKenzie, Joseph A. Greene, Andres T. Reyes, Catherine S. Alexander, Deirdre G. Barrett, Brian Gilmour, John F. Healey, Margaret O'Hea, Nadine Schibille, Stephan G. Schmid, Wilma Wetterstrom and Sarah Whitcher Kansa

(Boston: American Schools of Oriental Research, 2013), vol. 1: 340 pp., 451 color and b&w illus., 10 pages of tables, $89.95 (hardcover); vol. 2: 340 pp., 151 b&w illus., tables and figures, $89.95 (hardcover)

It's been almost 80 years since archaeologist and rabbi Nelson Glueck excavated at Khirbet et-Tannur. He died in 1971 without writing a final report. Now Judith S. McKenzie and a team of specialists associated with the Harvard Semitic Museum have published a report that features the discovery of a collection of samples gathered by Glueck during his original excavation that included bone, burnt incense, metal, glass and other plant and animal remains.

This two-volume report also treats the architectural data in Glueck's previous publications. The introduction to these volumes includes lengthy excerpts from Glueck's journal and provides a window into the inner workings of archaeology in the 19th century—during a time of rising political tension and violence in the region. The first volume focuses on Khirbet et-Tannur's architecture, as well as an overview of Nabatean cultic religion and iconography. Volume 2 begins with a new presentation of Glueck's original excavation reports, including his registration book and diary of the temple's excavation. It continues with detailed analyses regarding the collected samples found in the Semitic Museum at Harvard, each authored by a specialist in the field. These include both floral and faunal remains, as well as glass, metal and pottery samples.

With more than 600 illustrations and figures, and a glossary with typological diagrams that provides a deeper understanding of the artifacts, these two volumes bring Khirbet et-Tannur to life. Using the information left behind by Glueck and his team's reliable methodology, along with new comparative studies, these reports offer a comprehensive look at Nabatean religion.

CINCINNATI ART MUSEUM

A sculpture of the goddess Tyche framed by the zodiac symbols was found at Khirbet et-Tannur.

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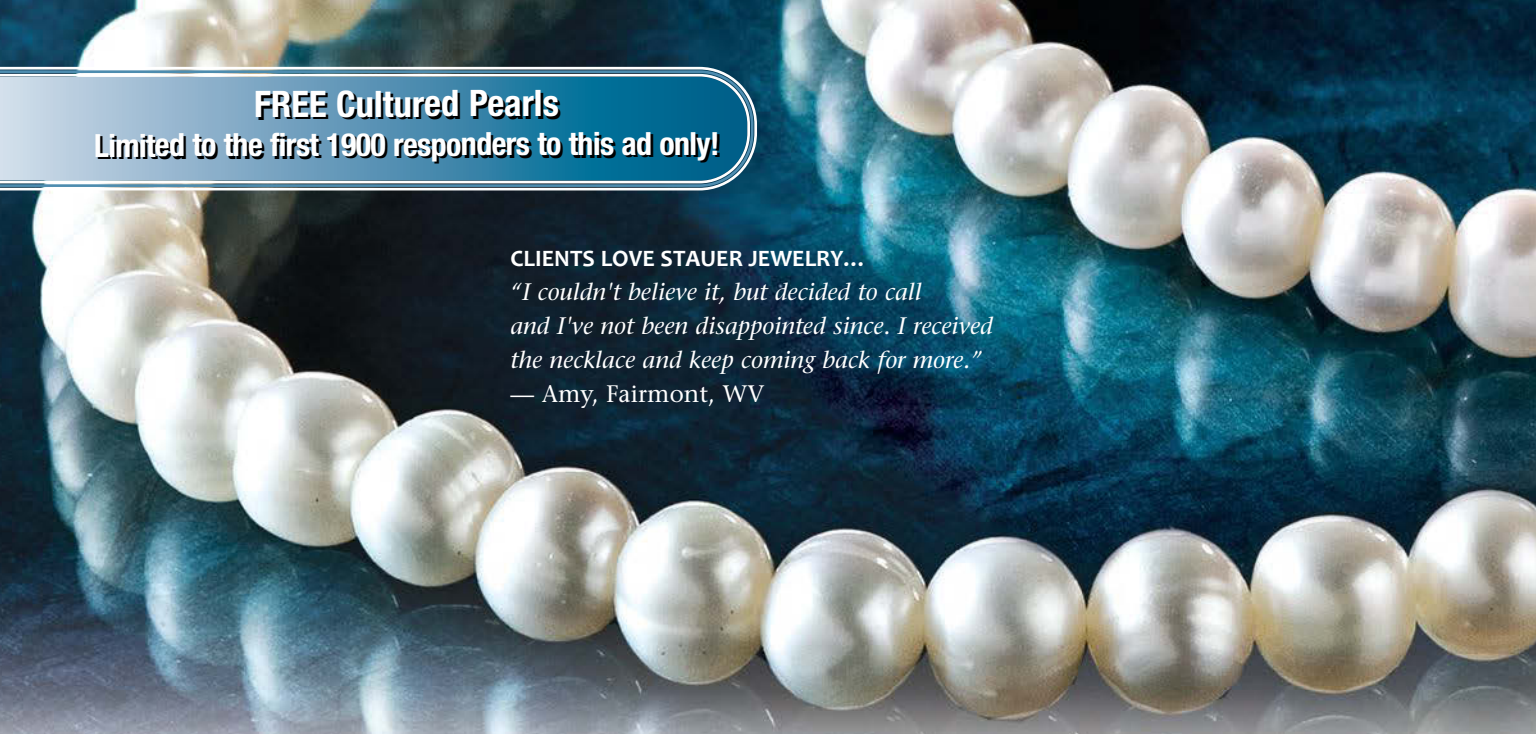

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CONTINUED FROM PAGE 20

On the other side of the equation, we have Zahi Hawass—the famous former Minister of Antiquities who used to be the face of Egyptian archaeology. He claims that Reeves's theory is preposterous. Hawass is convinced there is nothing behind the walls of King Tut's tomb and that Egyptologists would be foolish to try to verify Reeves's theory. As reported by *The Telegraph*, Hawass states, "There is nobody in Egypt, whether the minister of archaeology or anyone else, who can take the responsibility for making a scratch in Tutankhamun's tomb." To perform excavations in King Tut's well-preserved tomb—damaging the tomb in the process—and not find other hidden chambers would certainly be a tragedy.

Hawass is convinced there is nothing behind the walls of King Tut's tomb and that Egyptologists would be foolish to try to verify Reeves's theory.

Who is right? Perhaps time and further testing will tell us. Until then, the search for Queen Nefertiti's tomb goes on.

[1] Nicholas Reeves, "The Burial of Nefertiti?" *Amarna Royal Tombs Project, Occasional Paper No. 1* (2015), pp. 1–16.

EXHIBIT WATCH

King Midas and His Golden Touch

Everyone knows the story of King Midas and his golden touch. In Greco-Roman mythology, the Phrygian king Midas wished that everything he touched would turn to gold. While it amazed Midas that everything he touched actually did turn to gold—from a twig to a husk of corn—he soon discovered just how reckless his request was, for he could not eat or drink anything but gold.

The historical King Midas inspired this character in Classical mythology. King Midas ruled over a group of people known as the Phrygians in central Anatolia (modern Turkey). It was during the reign of Midas (c. 750–700 B.C.E.) that Phrygia reached the height of its wealth and power. Indeed, archaeological excavations at Gordion, the capital of Phrygia, revealed a massive citadel complex and a series of wealthy tombs dating to the reign of Midas. At the end of the eighth century B.C.E., the citadel was destroyed in a major fire, possibly due to the invasion of the Cimmerians from the east.*

Now on view at the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology is **The Golden Age of King Midas**. The unprecedented exhibit showcases the magnificent objects that have come to light from the Gordion excavations, which began in 1950 under the auspices of the Penn Museum and are ongoing today. Objects from a spectacular tomb at Gordion believed to belong to King Gordios, Midas's father, will be on display, including large bronze cauldrons (likely used to hold beer), bronze drinking bowls (see image, left) and intricate bronze fibulae (ancient safety pins). Also included in the exhibit are funerary objects from other royal tombs and a late-ninth-century B.C.E. pebble mosaic floor (the oldest known in the world) from Gordion as well as dazzling artifacts from neighboring Scythians, Lydians, Urartians, Assyrians and Persians.

THROUGH NOVEMBER 27, 2016
University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology
Philadelphia, PA
www.penn.museum

Running through November 27, 2016, **The Golden Age of King Midas** features 150 artifacts from the Penn Museum's own collection as well as from Turkish museums in Ankara, Istanbul, Antalya and Gordion.

*See G. Kenneth Sams, "King Midas: From Myth to Reality," *Archaeology Odyssey*, November/December 2001.

biblicalarchaeology.org/exhibits For more on this exhibit and others, visit us online.

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CARTOON CAPTION CONTEST

CARLTON STOIBER

"Hair Today, Gone Tomorrow."

—Steve Fankuchen, Rio Rancho, New Mexico

Thank you to all those who submitted caption entries for our January/February 2016 cartoon (above), based on 1 Corinthians 11:14–15:

"Does not nature itself teach you that if a man wears long hair, it is degrading to him, but if a woman has long hair, it is her glory? For her hair is given to her for a covering."

We are pleased to congratulate Steve Fankuchen of Rio Rancho, New Mexico, who wrote the winning caption, and our runners-up:

"Toupee or not toupee?"

—C.T. Howes, Havertown, Pennsylvania

"... but it does cover a multitude of sins."

—Susan Jacobs, Rochester, Minnesota

Write a caption for the cartoon below (see Ecclesiastes 10:8, "Whoever digs a pit will fall into it, and whoever breaks through a wall will be bitten by a snake."), and send it to us by mail or online on our website (see box below):

BAR Cartoon Caption Contest
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Be sure to include your name and address. The deadline for entries is May 31, 2016. The author of the winning caption will receive a copy of the BAS book *The Origins of Things*, a BAS tote bag and three gift subscriptions to give **BAR** to friends. Runners-up will receive a BAS tote bag and two gift subscriptions.

CARLTON STOIBER

biblicalarchaeology.org/captioncontest

- See additional caption entries for this month's featured cartoon.
- Submit a caption for our new cartoon.
- Check out past cartoons and captions.
- Send us your ideas for Biblical scenes that would make good cartoons for future contests.

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It's About Time—Easter Time

Ben Witherington III

One of the problems in reading ancient texts like the Bible in the 21st century is the danger of anachronism—by which I mean bringing unhelpful modern ideas and expectations to our readings. This problem becomes all the more acute when dealing with ancient texts on which much historical import hinges.

For example, we are a people obsessed with time—and with exactness when it comes to time—down to the nanosecond. In this regard, we are very different from the ancients, who did not go around wearing little sundials on their wrists and did not talk about seconds and minutes. They did not obsess about precision when it comes to time.

Take a few examples from the Gospels that may help us read the stories about Jesus' last week of life with more insight.

Some texts tell us that Jesus predicted he would rise "*after* three days." Others say he would rise "*on* the third day." In Matthew 12:40 Jesus mentions, "three days *and three nights*," but this is just part of a general analogy with the story of what happened with Jonah and the whale, and as such the time reference shouldn't be pressed. Jesus is just saying, "It will be like the experience of Jonah."

On the other hand, in Mark 8:31 Jesus says, "The Son of Man will rise again after three days." He mentions the same event in John 2:19 as "in three days," and on various occasions the Gospel writers tell us Jesus used the phrase "on the third day" (see, e.g., Matthew 16:21; 17:23; 20:19; Luke 24:46). On the face of it, this might seem to involve a flat contradiction. While both predictions could be wrong, is it really possible both could be right?

The problem with this sort of modern reasoning is that it assumes the Gospel writers intended always to write with precision on this matter. In fact the phrase "after three days" in the New Testament can simply mean "after a while" or "after a few days" without any clear specificity beyond suggesting several days, in this case parts of three days, would be involved. In fact, the Hebrew Bible provides us with some clues about these sorts of differences. Second Chronicles 10:5, 12 clearly says, "Come to me again after three days ... So ... all the people came to Rehoboam on the third day because the king had said 'Come to me again the third day.'" Apparently "after three days" means the very same thing as "on the third day" in this text. Is this just carelessness, or is it in fact an example of typical imprecision when it comes to speaking about time? I would suggest that the phrase "after three days" is a more general or imprecise way of speaking, whereas "on the third day" is somewhat more specific (though it still doesn't tell us when on the third day). These texts were not written to meet our modern exacting standards when it comes to time.

One of the keys to interpreting the time references in the New Testament is being aware that most of the time, *the time references are not precise*, and we must allow the ancient author to be general when he wants to be general and more specific when he wants to be more specific. Especially when you have both sorts of references to the time span between Jesus' death and resurrection *in one book by one author*, and indeed sometimes even within close proximity to each other, one should take the hint that these texts were not written according to our modern exacting expectations when it comes to time references.

Isn't it about time we let these authors use language, including time language, in the way that was customary in their own era? I would suggest it's high time we showed these ancient authors the respect they deserve and read them with an awareness of the conventions they followed when writing ancient history or ancient biography and not impose our later genre conventions on them.[1]

Ben Witherington III is the Amos Professor of New Testament for Doctoral Studies at Asbury Theological Seminary in Kentucky and on the doctoral faculty at St. Andrews University, Scotland.

[1] For help with understanding how to read the Bible in light of its original contexts, see Ben Witherington III, *Reading and Understanding the Bible* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2014).

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Golgotha: Is the Holy Sepulchre Church Authentic?

Marcel Serr and **Dieter Vieweger**

Golgotha, where Jesus was crucified, and his adjacent tomb were the subject of intense debate in the 19th century. Orthodox and Catholic Christians contended that their location in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was authentic. Some Protestants were doubtful.

To resolve the dispute, scholars needed to determine the location of the city wall in Jesus' time.

The problem arose because the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was well inside the walls of a bustling city and, according to contemporary Roman and Jewish custom, crucifixion and burial must have occurred *outside* the city walls. The Gospels seemed to confirm the assumption that the crucifixion and burial occurred outside the city walls (Mark 15:20; Matthew 27:31*ff*; John 19:17*ff*).

Efforts to find a so-called Second Wall south of the Holy Sepulchre Church that had served as the northern wall of Jerusalem in Jesus' time (and would have moved the site of the church outside the city in Jesus' time) proved elusive—although Josephus, the knowledgeable first-century Jewish historian, does refer to such a wall (*The Jewish War* 5.146).* In 1893 a wall was uncovered when the Church of the Redeemer was being constructed in Jerusalem's Muristan quarter just south of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. According to Conrad Schick and Father Louis-Hugues Vincent, two

*Steve Mason, "Will the Real Josephus Please Stand Up?" **BAR**, September/October 1997; Dan Bahat, "Does the Holy Sepulchre Church Mark the Burial of Jesus?" **BAR**, May/June 1986; Dan Bahat, Reviews: "Beneath the Church of the Holy Sepulchre," **BAR**, July/August 1996.

Church of the Redeemer

Church of the Holy Sepulchre

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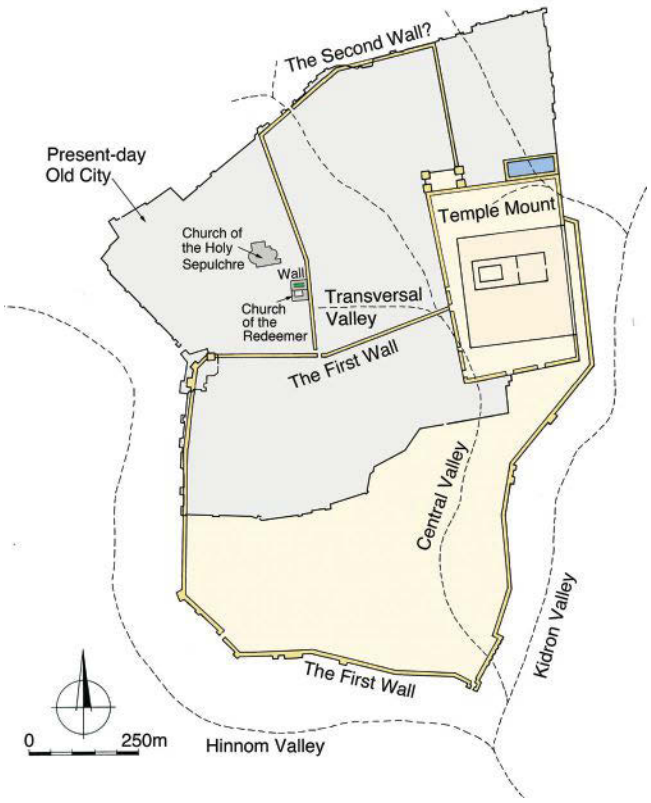
MARCEL SERR



LEEN RITMEYER

THIS WALL, discovered inside the Church of the Redeemer, was once considered a candidate for the first-century city wall, but it has been rejected as it is much too narrow to serve as a city wall.

eminent scholars at the time, this was the Second Wall. Thereby the location of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre as the site of Golgatha seemed to be confirmed.

In the early 1970s, Ute Wagner-Lux of the German Protestant Institute of Archaeology (GPIA) in Jerusalem excavated underneath the Church of the Redeemer and uncovered this supposed Second Wall (see above). However, this wall was only five feet thick—far too narrow to be a city wall. It could not have been the so-called Second Wall. So the search for it went back to square one.

The GPIA's archaeological park underneath the Church of the Redeemer, however, provides some clues that indeed point to the authenticity of the Holy Sepulchre's Golgotha and tomb of Christ. Bedrock revealed traces of a quarry that had been used until the first century B.C. This fit perfectly with the findings of other excavations in the area. In the 1960s, British archaeologist Kathleen Kenyon demonstrated that today's Muristan area had been a huge quarry until the first century B.C. The next higher (later) stratum of soil had been washed into the area after the quarry was no longer in use; the area may have served as gardens or fields of the first century A.D. Traces of plowing were found in this level.

In the stratum above, the soil is sloped from south to north. The material is a mixture of bricks, plaster, tiles and ceramics. This indicates an artificial leveling of the terrain with debris. The most recent coins dated to the First Jewish Rebellion against Rome (66–70 A.D.). The excavators concluded that these were traces of the Roman Emperor Hadrian's rebuilding of Jerusalem as Aelia Capitolina after 130 A.D. and the suppression of the Second Jewish Revolt.

Above this, a wall was unearthed built of reused, worked stones. That is the wall that had been earlier identified as the Second Wall. In fact, the wall in question is not only too small for a city wall, but it is also too young—dating to the fourth century A.D.

So Golgotha and the tomb in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre could well be authentic. The GPIA's excavation provides support for this position:

1. The quarry found at the bottom of this excavation indicates that this area was outside the city wall in Jesus' time. The Second Wall must be somewhere east of today's Church of the Redeemer.
2. The Gospels tell us that the place of Jesus' crucifixion was surrounded by gardens or fields (Mark 15:21; Luke 23:26; John 19:41). The stratum above the quarry with traces of gardens or fields can be dated to the first century A.D.
3. Golgotha was probably at a high elevation that was greatly visible as mentioned in Mark 15:40,

CONTINUES ON PAGE 66

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EXODUS EVIDENCE

An Egyptologist Looks at Biblical History

The question of elements of historicity in the Biblical account of the Egyptian enslavement of the Israelites and their subsequent Exodus from Egypt is an extremely complicated matter with many uncertainties.* But a number of aspects of the account can be reliably—that is, historically—traced back to the late 13th–12th century B.C.E., the time when proto-Israelites appear both in Egypt and Canaan and in what would become Israel. In short, although the Biblical text was undoubtedly composed later, it draws in some particulars on accurate memories from the time of the enslavement and Exodus that it describes.

For example, the Bible refers to several important toponyms (place names) that in combination appear only in the Ramesside period (12th

*This article is a free abstract from Manfred Bietak's article, "On the Historicity of the Exodus: What Egyptology Today Can Contribute to Assessing the Biblical Account of the Sojourn in Egypt," in Thomas E. Levy, Thomas Schneider and William H.C. Propp, eds., *Israel's Exodus in Transdisciplinary Perspective: Text, Archaeology, Culture and Geoscience* (Cham: Springer, 2015). In Bietak's article, the scholarly debate about the archaeological remains and the onomastic data of Wadi Tumilat is more elaborately treated.

MARYL LEVINE

ISRAEL'S DEBUT. Dated to c. 1219 B.C.E., the Merneptah Stele (left) is the earliest extrabiblical record of a people group called Israel. Set up by Pharaoh Merneptah to commemorate his military victories, the stele proclaims, "Ashkelon is carried off, and Gezer is captured. Yeno'am is made into nonexistence; Israel is wasted, its seed is not." Ashkelon, Gezer and Yeno'am are followed by an Egyptian hieroglyph that designates a town. Israel is followed by a hieroglyph that means a people (see detail, above).

*Bernard F. Batto, "Red Sea or Reed Sea?" **BAR**, July/August 1984.

century B.C.E.). According to the Biblical account, Pharaoh famously forced the Israelites to build the store-cities of Pithom and Ramses (Exodus 1:11). The Israelites miraculously crossed the Yam Suph, which may be translated either Red Sea or Reed Sea.* These toponyms correspond to the Egyptian toponyms Pi-Ramesse, Pi-Atum and (Pa-)Tjuf.[1]

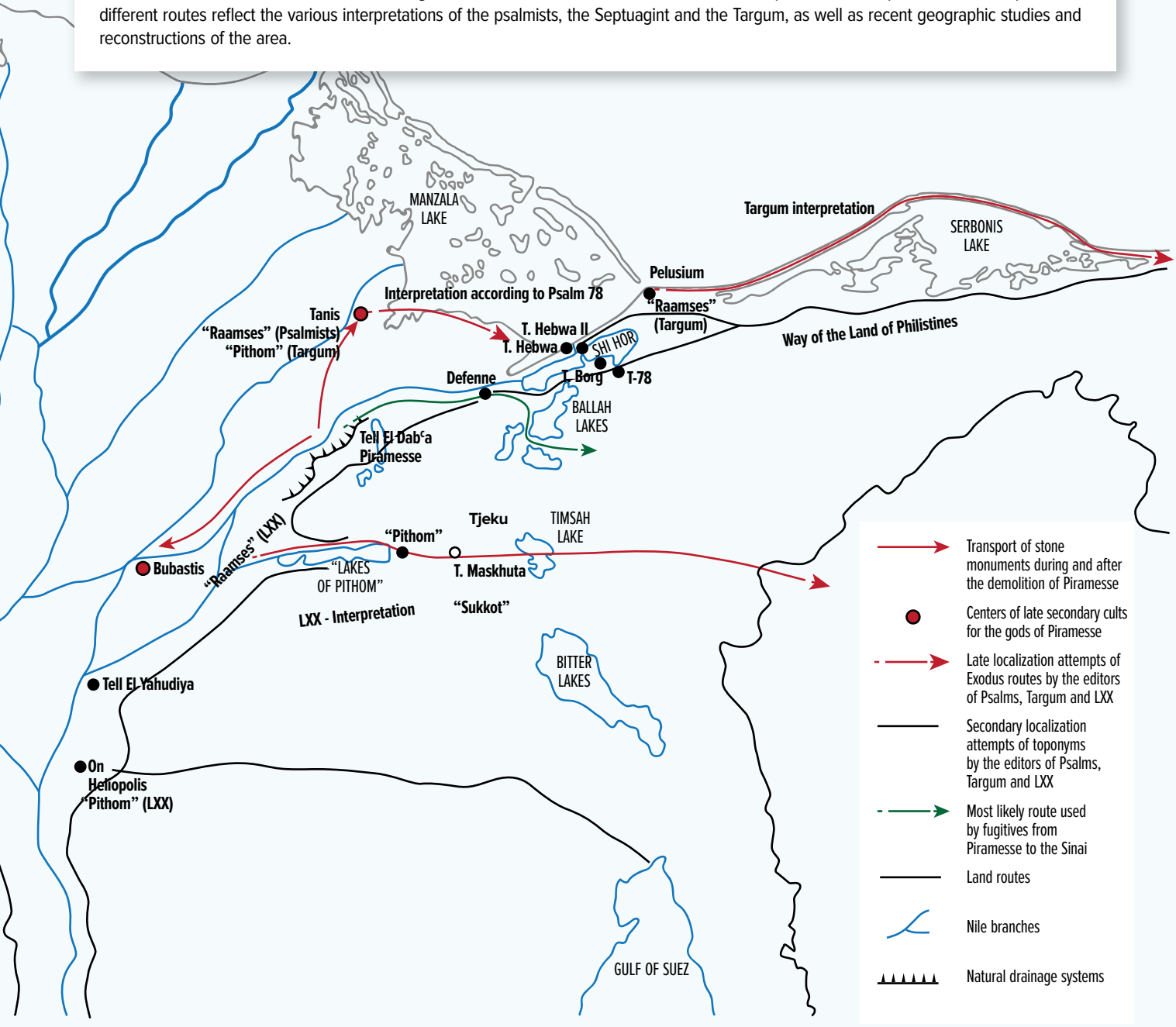
It is true that two of these toponyms—Pi-Atum [Pithom] and (Pa-)Tjuf [Yam Suph]—also appear in later Egyptian texts. Pi-Ramesse does not, however. It reappears only in the third century B.C.E. Moreover, although two of the three do appear in later Egyptian texts, all three appear together only in the Ramesside period.

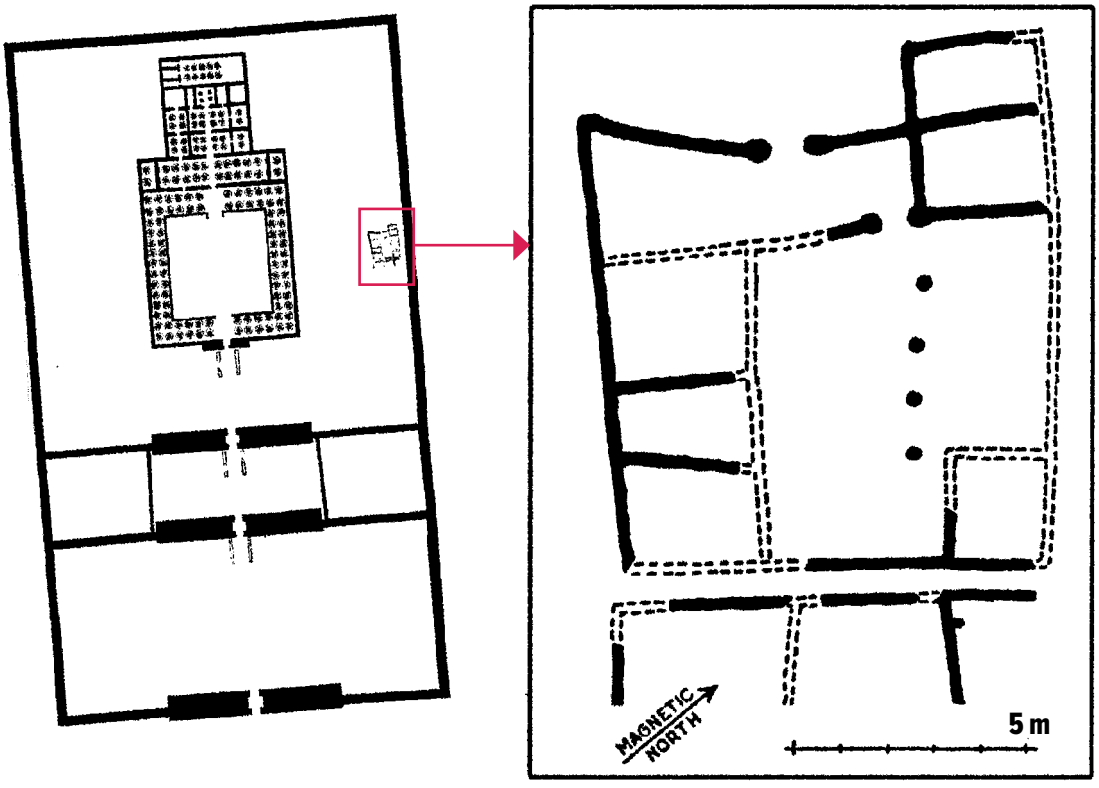
This indicates that the place name Ramses in the books of Genesis and Exodus, which corresponds to the Egyptian toponym Pi-Ramesse, must have been adopted from a tradition older than the Third Intermediate Period because by the time of the Third Intermediate Period, which began with the 21st Dynasty in 1085 B.C.E., Pi-Ramesse was out of function as a residence and used as a quarry for building

COURTESY OF MANFRED BIETAK

Exodus Routes

There are several routes that the Israelites might have taken from Piramesse to the Sinai. Some possibilities are plotted on this map. These different routes reflect the various interpretations of the psalmists, the Septuagint and the Targum, as well as recent geographic studies and reconstructions of the area.





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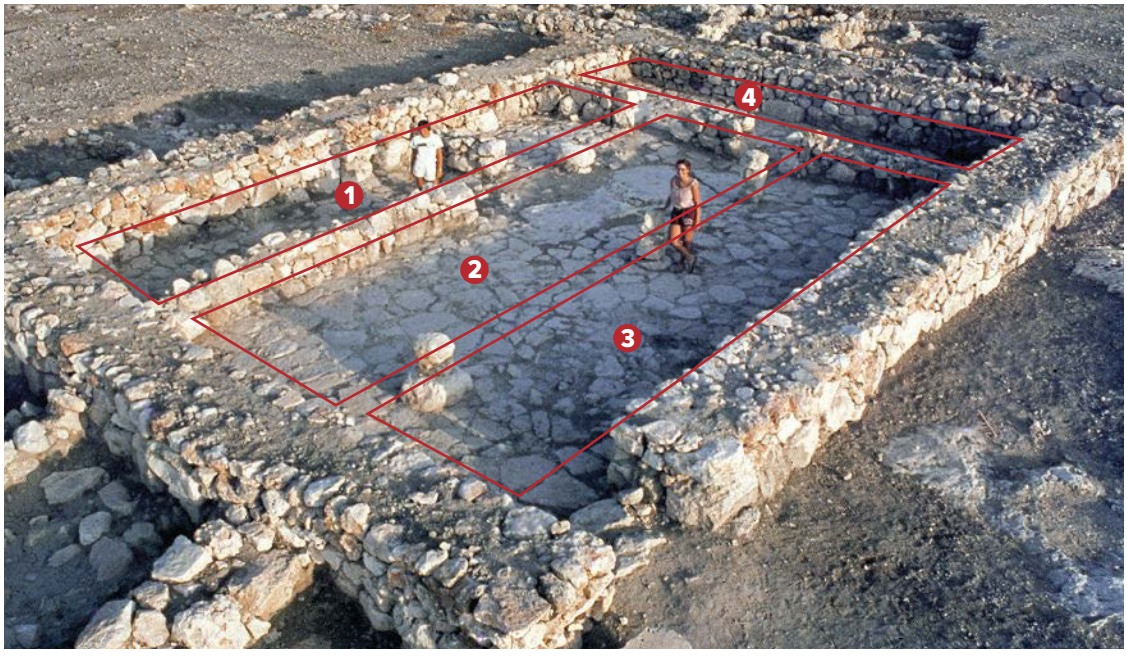


ISRAEL FINKELSTEIN/TEL AVIV UNIVERSITY

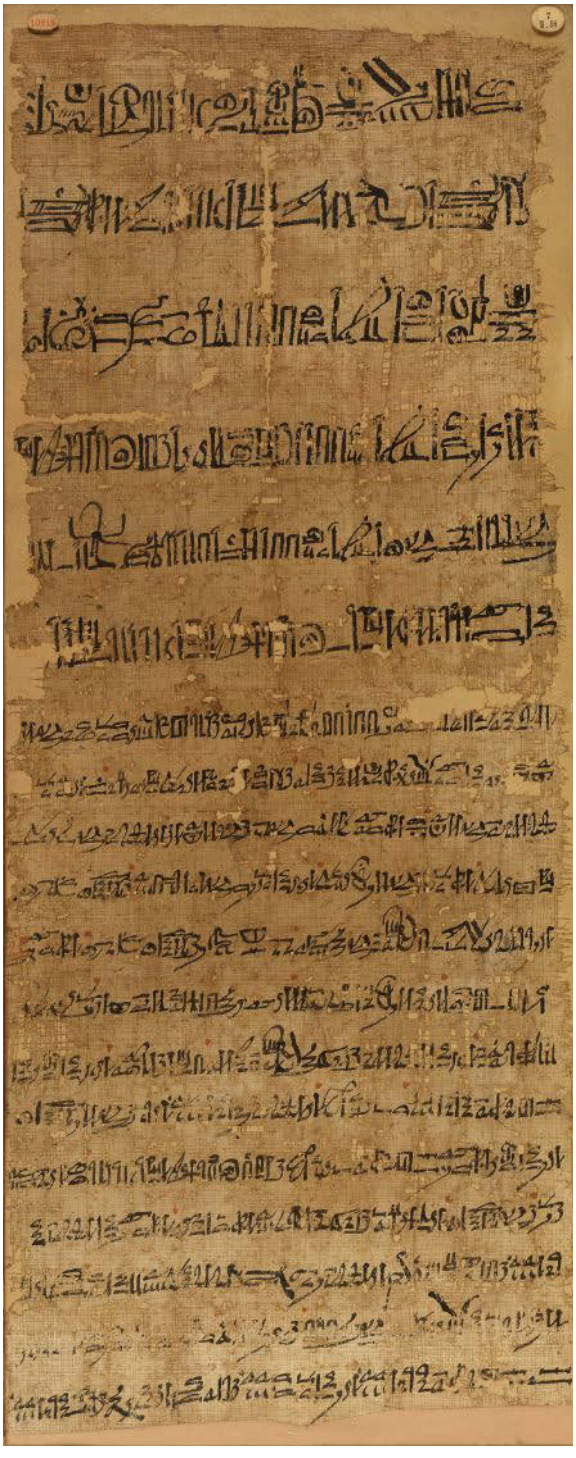
FAMILIAR DWELLINGS. The plan of this worker's house in western Thebes (left) is similar to that of the four-room house characteristic of Israelite dwellings during the Iron Age, such as the bottom left house at Izbet Sartah. The four-room house is characterized by three parallel long rooms, which are separated by walls or rows of columns, and a fourth room at one end of the house that is perpendicular to the others. Sometimes these rooms are subdivided, and subsidiary rooms may be added, but the general plan remains the same. Most of these houses had a second story, and some scholars believe that the center room was unroofed and served as a courtyard.

Unlike the Israelite models that were usually constructed of stone, the Theban house—most likely from the 12th or 11th century B.C.E.—was made of wattle and daub. The similarities between this house in western Thebes and the four-room houses in Israel have caused some to speculate that the builders of the Theban house were either Proto-Israelites or a group closely related to the Israelites.

Tanis. The name Pi-Ramesse had already gone out of use and only reappears in the fourth century B.C.E.

Another example places the house remains of workers (most probably slaves in the Egyptian temple) who may have been proto-Israelites (or a closely related population) in Egypt in the 12th century B.C.E. (the time of Ramses IV). The workers were part of a team in western Thebes tasked with demolishing the temple of earlier kings Aya and Horemheb. The University of Chicago archaeologists who excavated the site in the 1930s uncovered the remains of a house (and part of a second one) in which the workers lived at the site. It was not made of bricks or stones—after all, these were workers—but of wattle and daub. Nevertheless, the plan of the dwellings was unmistakenly that of the four-room house, considered characteristic of proto-Israelites emerging in Canaan at this time. Indeed the four-room house is widely considered as an ethnic marker for the presence of Israelites.* (As Israel's

*Shlomo Bunimovitz and Avraham Faust, "Ideology in Stone," **BAR**, July/August 2002.



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PAPYRUS ANASTASI VI records how a group of Shosu Bedouin from Edom was given permission to pass an Egyptian stronghold and to water its flocks by the lakes of Pithom in Egypt. It dates from the fifth year of Sethos II (c. 1209 B.C.E.). Emerging Israelites may well have done the same thing.

IN BIBLICAL SUKKOT? Tell el-Maskhuta (below) in the Wadi Tumilat was excavated by a University of Toronto expedition that uncovered archaeological remains from Egypt's Middle Kingdom, Saite, Persian, Ptolemaic and Roman periods. Recent excavations by Egypt's Supreme Council of Antiquities have also recovered remains from the Ramesside period during Egypt's New Kingdom.

The Wadi Tumilat region was called Tjeku by the ancient Egyptians. Many scholars consider this name to be an Egyptian rendering of the Biblical name Sukkot—listed in Exodus 12:37 as one of the stations on the first leg of the Israelites' Exodus from Egypt where the Israelites baked unleavened bread (*matzah*).

ethnogenesis had not yet been finalized, one might also consider that some other closely related population might be the builders of these houses.)

In the famous Papyrus Anastasi VI, a group of Shosu Bedouin from Edom is granted permission by the Egyptian authorities to pass the border stronghold and proceed with their flocks to the lakes of Pithom where they will find the water needed to keep the animals alive. This papyrus dates to the end of the 13th century B.C.E., more precisely to the fifth year of the reign of Sethos (Seti) II (c. 1209 B.C.E.). These tribesmen are not Edomites but rather Shosu from Edom. In the Bible, the Israelite God Yahweh is said to have arisen from Seir in Edom. In Deuteronomy 33:1–2, Moses blesses the people before he dies:

> Yahweh came from Sinai;
> He shone upon them from Seir.

And again in Judges 5:4–5:

> O Yahweh, when you came forth from Seir,
> Advanced from the country of Edom,
> The earth trembled ...

This event was originally considered by Biblical scholars just as an illustration how the proto-Israelites had entered Egypt. Due to the Biblical chronology prevailing half a century ago, this event was considered, however, as too late for the migration of proto-Israelites to Egypt. As archaeological evidence now dates the emergence of these people only with the coming of the Iron Age at the end of the 13th century B.C.E.—a date supported by the Merneptah Stele (also known as the "Israel" Stele, c. 1219 B.C.E.), the event in Papyrus Anastasi VI suddenly demands much more of our attention. The pastoralists described in the Papyrus Anastasi could indeed be proto-Israelites or Midianites. In either case the event described can only be seen as symptomatic—that is, an incident recorded and preserved in an Egyptian text by accident that doubtless occurred repeatedly. Here in the late 13th century B.C.E. is an event in Egypt that no doubt occurred countless times that might well be describing the situation out of which the early Israelites emerged.

Moreover, in the Papyrus Anastasi the border fortress that the pastoralists seek to cross is in the region of Tjeku in what is today the Wadi Tumilat. Tjeku is regarded by many scholars (but not by the great A.H. Gardiner in a 1922 publication[2]) as the

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Egyptian rendering of Biblical Sukkot. Sukkot is on the first leg of the Exodus: The Israelites journeyed from Ramses to Sukkot, where they baked unleavened bread (*matzah*) (Exodus 12:37).

Tjeku is not the only toponym in the Wadi Tumilat region that has West Semitic roots. A more secure Semitic name in Papyrus Anastasi VI is *b-r-k-w.t* (Arabic *birkat*, Hebrew *brekhot*), which refers to pools or lakes of Pithom, most likely to be identified with the paleo-lake between Abu Hamad and Tell el-Retabe.

In another papyrus, the so-called Onomasticon Amenope, word 33, our *b-r-k.t* (lake) is followed by *kh-n.tyu* which means "borderland" or "frontier," a meaningful association with the Wadi Tumilat.[3]

Another example is in Papyrus Anastasi V.19.7, where the Semitic word *s-g-r* is used for an enclosure.[4]

Still another example. The renowned Egyptologist Sarah I. Groll pointed out that in Papyrus Anastasi IV, Ib:1–2 reference is made to a lake that produced waves.[5] Therefore, it must have been a lake of considerable size. It is referred to as *g-s-m*, which according to Groll should be identified as the Biblical Goshen.

All this could be seen as evidence that this Egyptian borderland had been settled at this time by a Semitic-speaking population.

The well-known Merneptah Stele (c. 1219 B.C.E.) refers to "Israel" along with three towns—Ashkelon, Gezer and Yeno'am. The Egyptian classifier for "town" is attached to each of these three. The classifier attached to "Israel," however, is for "people." Israel had therefore not yet created settlements in what was to become the land of Israel.

Thus we have evidence of population groups in Egypt and elsewhere in the late Ramesside period (late 13th–12th century B.C.E.) who were culturally and ethnically close to what we know as Israel in the Iron Age (c. 1200–586 B.C.E.).

There is another, more general, reason why I believe the Biblical account incorporates some memories of actual conditions: The storyline of the Exodus, of a people fleeing from a humiliating slavery, suggests elements that are historically credible. Normally, it is only tales of glory and victory that are preserved in narratives from one generation to the next. A history of being slaves is likely to bear elements of truth.

[1] For a scholarly demonstration of this, see Manfred Bietak, "On the Historicity of the Exodus: What Egyptology Today Can Contribute to Assessing the Biblical Account of the Sojourn in Egypt," in Thomas E. Levy, Thomas Schneider and William H.C. Propp, eds., *Israel's Exodus in Transdisciplinary Perspective: Text, Archaeology, Culture and Geoscience* (Cham: Springer, 2015), pp. 17–38.
[2] Alan H. Gardiner, "The Geography of the Exodus," *Recueil d' études égyptologiques dédiées à la mémoire de Jean-François Champollion*, Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études 4 (Paris: Champion, 1922), pp. 203–215.
[3] Alan H. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, vol. 1 (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1947), p. 8, no. 34.
[4] James E. Hoch, *Semitic Words in Egyptian Texts of the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ. Press, 1994), pp. 270–271, no. 385.
[5] Sarah I. Groll, "The Egyptian Background of the Exodus and the Crossing of the Reed Sea: A New Reading of Papyrus Anastasi VIII," in I. Shirun-Grumach, ed., *Jerusalem Studies in Egyptology,* ÄAT 40 (Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1998), p. 190.

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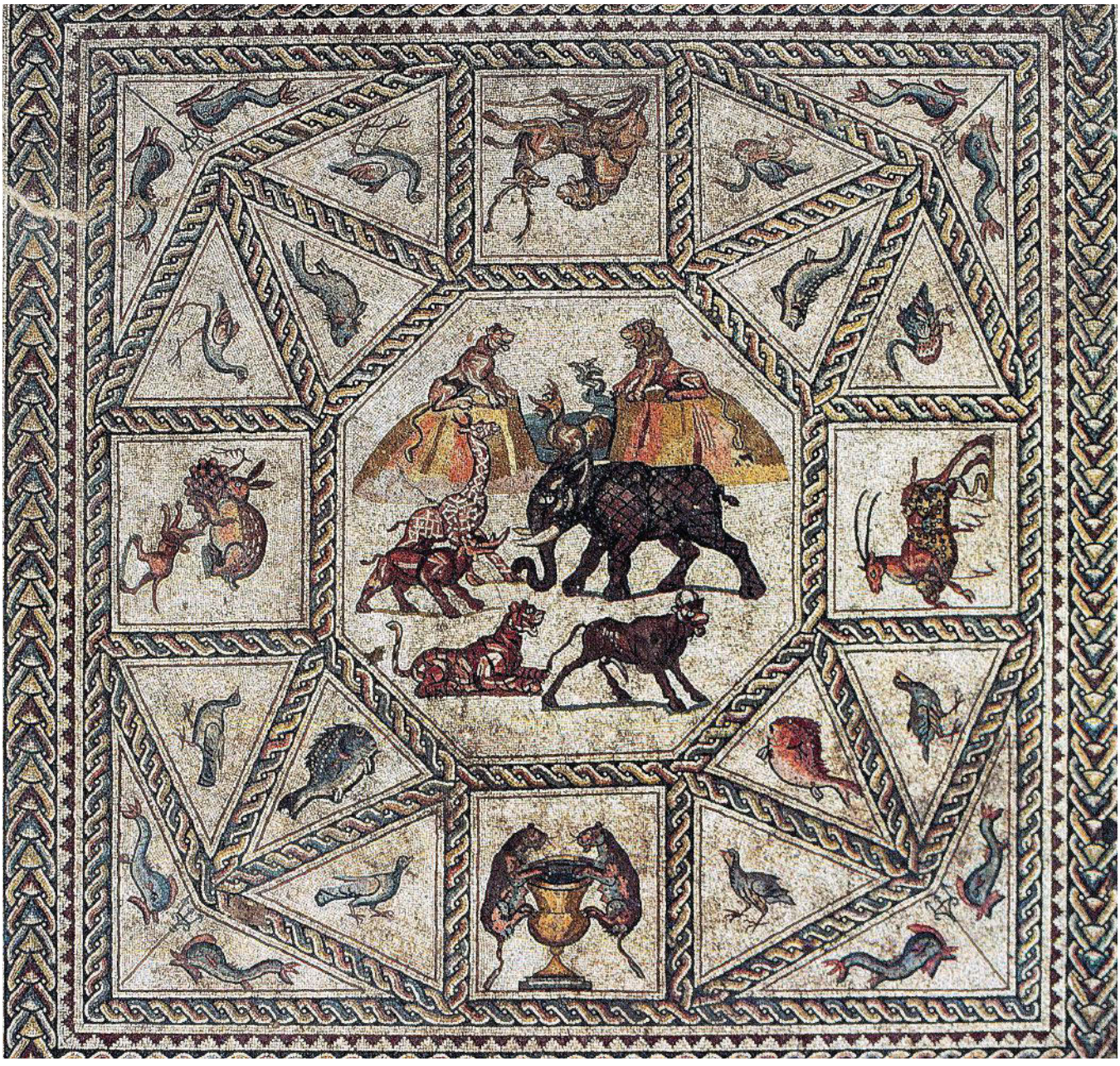
It is the largest—and surely one of the most beautiful—mosaics ever discovered in Israel.

An inspector from the Israel Antiquities Authority discovered it on a routine inspection of a real estate maintenance and construction project; these inspectors make sure that antiquities are not destroyed in the course of real estate and road development. Israel has 30,000 antiquities sites discovered so far. Sites often surface during development work and can be destroyed if not protected.

The mosaic was exposed about 3 feet below ground in what was probably the main reception hall or dining room (*triclinium*) of an elegant house or manor of the late third or fourth century C.E. in the city of Lod.[1] Called Diospolis at the time, Lod was once an important Roman city on the Via Maris, the Way of the Sea, that ran along the coast of Palestine leading from Egypt to Syria.

NICKY DAVIDOV, COURTESY ISRAEL ANTIQUITIES AUTHORITY

LOD MOSAIC. Four mosaic floors have been uncovered from a wealthy Roman house in Lod, Israel (ancient Diospolis). This aerial photograph shows the most famous of the floors—known commonly as the Lod Mosaic—which decorated the main hall or dining room of the third- or fourth-century C.E. house. The mosaic is divided into a northern and southern carpet that are separated by a band. Discovered in 1996, the Lod Mosaic measures 30 feet wide and 56 feet long—making it the largest Roman mosaic in Israel.



NICKY DAVIDOV, COURTESY ISRAEL ANTIQUITIES AUTHORITY

Several mosaics have been found at Lod, the three most recent fully excavated only in 2014 (one of which is featured on the cover). But nothing can match the eye-popping mosaic initially discovered in 1996—popularly called the Lod Mosaic, singular.

The main Lod Mosaic is 56 feet long and 30 feet wide (see p. 39). It contains stone and glass tesserae (small square tiles) of nearly 30 different colors. Two different sections are separated by a mosaic strip extending beyond the north and south sides of the mosaic. This mosaic strip features a krater with extended vines.

THE CIRCLE OF LIFE. In the center of the Lod Mosaic's northern carpet is an octagonal panel featuring a tiger, rhinoceros, giraffe, elephant and bull (or water buffalo). Above them on two mountains sit a lioness and lion, and behind them in the water swims a sea creature. More animals are depicted in the panels surrounding the octagonal panel. Fish and birds appear in the triangular panels. Beneath the octagon in a square panel is an image of two panthers hanging on to the sides of a krater. In other square panels are a rabbit and dog with a bundle of grapes; a lion eating a deer; and a panther attacking a goat. The corner panels depict tridents flanked by dolphins.

NICKY DAVIDOV, COURTESY ISRAEL ANTIQUITIES AUTHORITY

ON THE HIGH SEAS. A dolphin, whale and multiple fish swim across the south panel of the Lod Mosaic's northern carpet. Two merchant ships—one of which is slightly damaged—appear among the marine life. A small cross is visible on the prow of the left ship. On the prow of the right ship, there appears to be another cross—but facing a different direction than the one on the other ship. While these crosses might indicate that the owner or artisan of the mosaics was Christian, it is also possible that the crosses are nothing more than decorative geometric patterns.

The mosaic carpets north and south of this strip are themselves each divided into parts. The mosaic carpet south of the strip consists of two panels—one featuring birds and the other geometric spaces with birds, fish and animals.

The mosaic carpet north of the strip consists of three panels. The lowest one pictures all kinds of fish and two ships (see above). The middle panel (left) consists of a central octagon portraying a lion and a lioness on two separate mountaintops protecting the entrance from an outer sea into a charmed space that includes a giraffe, rhinoceros, elephant, tiger and bull. A sea monster frolics in the water between the two mountains.

Glen Bowersock, Professor Emeritus of Ancient History at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, has suggested that the space protected by the lions on the mountaintops might represent the peaceable kingdom of Isaiah. He points to another mosaic portraying animals, who normally confront each other antagonistically, facing each other peaceably; that mosaic actually contains an inscription from Isaiah—the wolf will live with the lamb, etc. (Isaiah 11:6–7).[2] Does this begin to suggest the identity of the mosaic's owner?

The first thing that is likely to strike **BAR** readers is the complete absence of any human figures. In an elegant book on the Lod mosaics published in 2015 by the Israel Antiquities Authority and Scala Arts Publishers,[3] two scholars, Rina Talgam of Hebrew University and Zaraza Friedman, an independent Israeli scholar, both raise the question as to whether this somewhat surprising absence of human figures indicates that this Roman villa in Lod was owned by Jews—or possibly by Christians—rather than by pagan Romans.

Bowersock notes that the elephant, tiger and giraffe often accompany Dionysos, the god of wine and fertility, in Roman mosaics, but he is *not* pictured here. Does this also suggest the religion of the owner of the villa?

Lod was a multiethnic city at the time, so the possibilities, at least theoretically, are many. While the Jewish community was the largest, the population also included Christians and pagans and possibly Samaritans. The mosaic contains no inscriptions, and the finds from the excavation do not indicate the identity of the mosaic's owner.

The absence of human figures is emphasized by the presence of ships. Ship mosaics usually include at least some evidence of seafarers. But not these ships, as if whoever commissioned this mosaic had some aversion to depicting the sailors.

Talgam points to one possible objection to the suggestion that the mosaic was commissioned by a Jew: One of the ships in the mosaic features a cross on the prow! But this is not a usual Christian cross. It is difficult to tell what it is or what it's doing there.

Whoever the owners were, they lived an affluent and luxurious lifestyle. Colored frescoes as well as marble and stucco fragments were recovered from this extravagant building.

ASSAF PERETZ, COURTESY ISRAEL ANTIQUITIES AUTHORITY

ASSAF PERETZ, COURTESY ISRAEL ANTIQUITIES AUTHORITY

RESTORING LOD. Three more mosaics were fully uncovered at Lod in 2014. The most impressive of these is the mosaic in the courtyard of the Roman house. In the left image, archaeology students from the Renmin University of Beijing help to clean this mosaic. The panel that they are cleaning features a leopard in a harness attacking an antelope (above). Another panel from this new mosaic—with two doves sitting on the rim of a krater—is featured on the cover of this issue. This mosaic floor is from the same level as the famous Lod Mosaic.

Because of its exceptional beauty, the Lod Mosaic was lifted and removed for conservation. Once conserved, it was "movable," so to speak, and it has gone on a worldwide tour—to the Metropolitan Museum in New York, the Field Museum in Chicago, the Louvre in Paris, the Altes Museum in Berlin, the Hermitage in St. Petersburg and elsewhere. Its ultimate home, however, will be the Shelby White and Leon Levy Lod Mosaic Archaeological Center in Lod, Israel.—**H.S.**

[1] The initial excavation was directed by Miriam Avissar of the Israel Antiquities Authority (IAA). She was later joined by Amir Gorzalczany, also of the IAA.

[2] See Glen Bowersock, "Introduction," in Israel Antiquities Authority, ed., *The Lod Mosaic: A Spectacular Roman Mosaic Floor* (New York: Scala Arts Publishers, Inc., 2015), p. 17.

[3] Israel Antiquities Authority, ed., *The Lod Mosaic: A Spectacular Roman Mosaic Floor* (New York: Scala Arts Publishers, Inc., 2015).

"And His Brothers Were Jealous of Him"

Surprising Parallels Between Joseph and King Esarhaddon

By Eckart Frahm

All over the world people hold the relationship between brothers in high esteem. That relationship is considered a model for other forms of human interaction. The religious think of their fellow believers as "brothers in faith"; the secular consider the relationship as the French Revolution's ideal of "fraternité."

In the ancient Near East, things were very much the same: Babylonian and Assyrian letter writers, for example, regularly addressed each other in their messages as "brothers." So did the great kings who wrote to each other in the famous Amarna letters (c. 1400 B.C.E.).*

This almost universal appreciation of brotherhood seems at odds, however, with the numerous stories that deal with hostile brothers' relationships and the violence that results from their mutual dislike. Examples are numerous, both in the Bible and elsewhere in literature and history, from Cain and Abel and Jacob and Esau to Eteocles and Polynices, Romulus and Remus, and Richard the Lionheart and John Lackland.

The Franco-American scholar René Girard has observed that the close proximity that draws brothers together is, somewhat paradoxically, also what more than anything triggers deadly strife between them.[1] Brothers resemble each other with regard to their physical and mental characteristics but also with regard to the objects they desire—whether a woman, a throne or a father's estate. This mimetic desire, which can find fulfillment for one of them only, may easily lead to bloody conflict.

One of the most famous narratives about hostile brothers is the Biblical story of Joseph, told in Genesis 37–50. Joseph is a younger son of his father, Jacob. He has ten elder brothers, born from Jacob's first wife Leah and two slave-women, and a younger brother, Benjamin, who like Joseph is the offspring of Jacob's

*Nadav Na'aman, "The Trowel vs. the Text," **BAR**, January/February 2009.

BPK, BERLIN/VORDERASIATISCHES MUSEUM, STATTLICHE MUSEEN/JUERGEN LIEPPE/ART RESOURCE, NY

EMPEROR OF ASSYRIA. Esarhaddon ruled the Assyrian empire from 680 to 669 B.C.E. and is mentioned in the Bible in 2 Kings 19:37, as well as in Isaiah 37:38 and Ezra 4:2. Uncovered at Sam'al (modern Zincirli in Turkey), where Esarhaddon was overlord, the basalt stele (left) dates from 671 B.C.E. and depicts Esarhaddon in victory over the Egyptians. Towering over everyone, Esarhaddon stands with a mace in his left hand. Two attendants kneel before him, the smaller of whom is the recently conquered Egyptian Prince Ushankhuru. The stele is 11.4 feet tall.

Measuring 8.5 inches on a side, the small black basalt prism (right) recounts how Esarhaddon restored the temples and walls of Babylon. The upper register shows four symbols: a shrine, a man with an upraised hand (possibly a king), a sacred tree and a bull. The second register displays a triangular mound, a plow and seed drill, a palm tree with date clusters and a square object. Scholars have suggested that these symbols represent the name and royal title of King Esarhaddon. "Assyrian hieroglyphs" like the ones found on Esarhaddon's "Black Stone" are attested from the time of Sargon II onward and may have been inspired by Assyrian encounters with Egyptian civilization.

younger wife, Rachel. The relationship between Joseph and his elder brothers is tense from the beginning. Jacob, who "loved Joseph more than any other of his children, because he was the son of his old age" (Genesis 37:3), gives him a precious robe. When the elder brothers become aware of their father's partiality for Joseph, they begin to hate their younger sibling. They become even more incensed when Joseph tells them of two dreams that seem to suggest he will rule over them one day. In the first dream, sheaves bound by his brothers bow down to Joseph's sheaf, and in the second, the sun, the moon and eleven stars prostrate themselves before him. Jacob scolds Joseph for his arrogant ambitions but "kept the matter in mind" (Genesis 37:11).

Later, Jacob sends Joseph to his brothers, who are pasturing flocks at Dothan. The brothers throw Joseph into a pit and then sell him to a merchant caravan headed for Egypt. There, Joseph experiences a series of highs and lows, the latter including a false accusation of rape by the wife of his employer Potiphar and a subsequent prison sentence. But after interpreting two dreams of Pharaoh as indicating that seven years of abundance will be followed by seven years of want—and suggesting measures to cope with the impending crisis—Joseph becomes Pharaoh's second-in-command. Some time later, his family back in Israel, ravished by famine, moves to Egypt. Following several twists and turns, Joseph finally reveals to his father and brothers his true identity. The narrative ends on a happy note: Jacob blesses his sons, and Joseph forgives his brothers.

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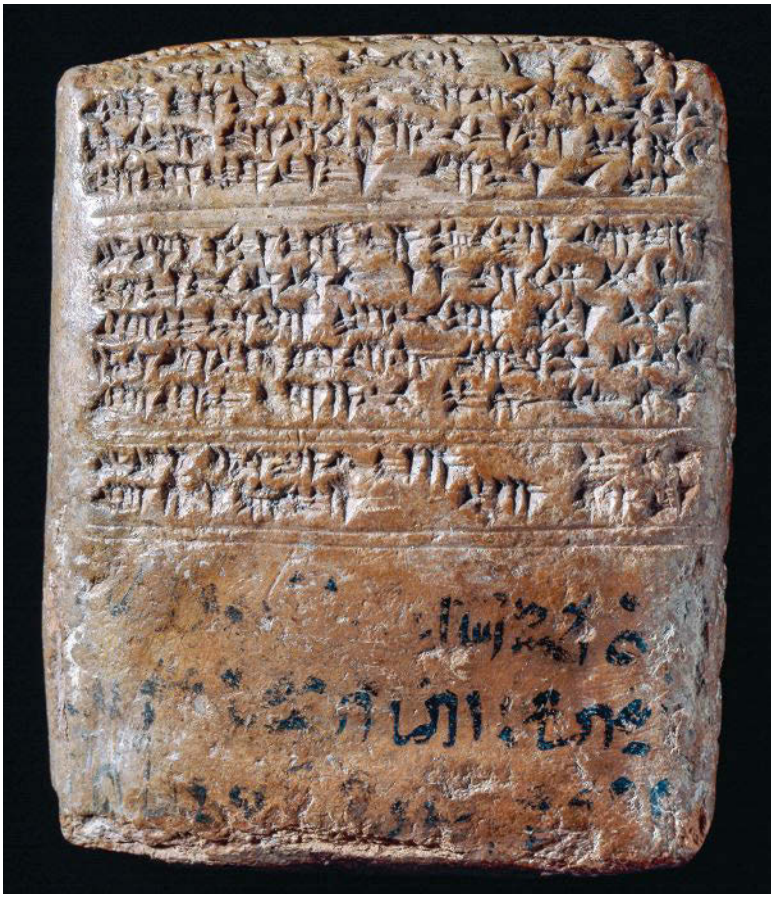
The story of Joseph has had a tremendous impact on later literature, from Classical antiquity to modern times.[2] Adaptations include a novel about Joseph and his wife, *Joseph and Aseneth*, composed during the first centuries C.E. and known from manuscripts in Greek, Syriac and other languages; the twelfth sura of the Qur'an, which is named after Joseph (Yūsuf); the Persian verse composition "Yusuf-o Zulaikha" by the Sufi poet Jami (1414–1492); and last but not least, Thomas Mann's great four-part novel *Joseph and His Brothers* written between 1926 and 1943. In its final volume, "Joseph the Provider," Mann attributes to Joseph qualities of the American president Franklin D. Roosevelt.[3]

Almost all scholars now agree that the Joseph story is not a faithful historical account, even though some believe that it may include vague allusions to the Hyksos period (17th and 16th centuries B.C.E.), when Semites from Canaan became the rulers of Egypt. Based on factual, linguistic and literary criteria, many contemporary Hebrew Bible scholars assume that the Joseph story, or at least a first version of it, was composed during the interval between the downfall of the northern Kingdom of Israel in 721 B.C.E. to the Assyrians and the fifth century B.C.E., when the Judeans had returned from Babylon. A few scholars consider an even later date of composition more feasible.[4]

While several parallels between the Joseph story and Egyptian texts have been identified (see below), I would like to discuss a largely unexplored parallel, which leads us from Egypt to Mesopotamia: The story of the rise of Joseph shares uncanny similarities with that of the Assyrian King Esarhaddon, who ruled much of Western Asia from 680 to 669 B.C.E.

Our main sources for the reconstruction of the events that led to Esarhaddon's accession to the Assyrian throne are some of the king's own inscriptions, especially a text known as Nineveh A.[5] Here, Esarhaddon reports with unusual candor that he was not the oldest son of his father and predecessor Sennacherib. Esarhaddon had a number of elder brothers. Nonetheless, at some point Sennacherib decided to make Esarhaddon his heir apparent. Liver divination undertaken in the name of the sun-god Šamaš and the weather god Adad confirms the appointment. And both the people of Assyria and Esarhaddon's brothers swear loyalty to the new crown prince.

The brothers, however, are not happy with this



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DEAR BROTHER. Tushratta, king of Mitanni, addresses Amenhotep III, king of Egypt, as his "brother" in this letter from 1370–1350 B.C.E. Written in Akkadian, the letter was found at Tell el-Amarna, Egypt—ancient Akhetaten. Calling the Egyptian pharaoh his "brother" suggests that the king of Mitanni (a kingdom located in present-day northern Syria) was of equal rank to Amenhotep III. In many of the Amarna letters, the Egyptian pharaoh is addressed as "father," showing that most rulers who corresponded with the king of Egypt were subservient to him.

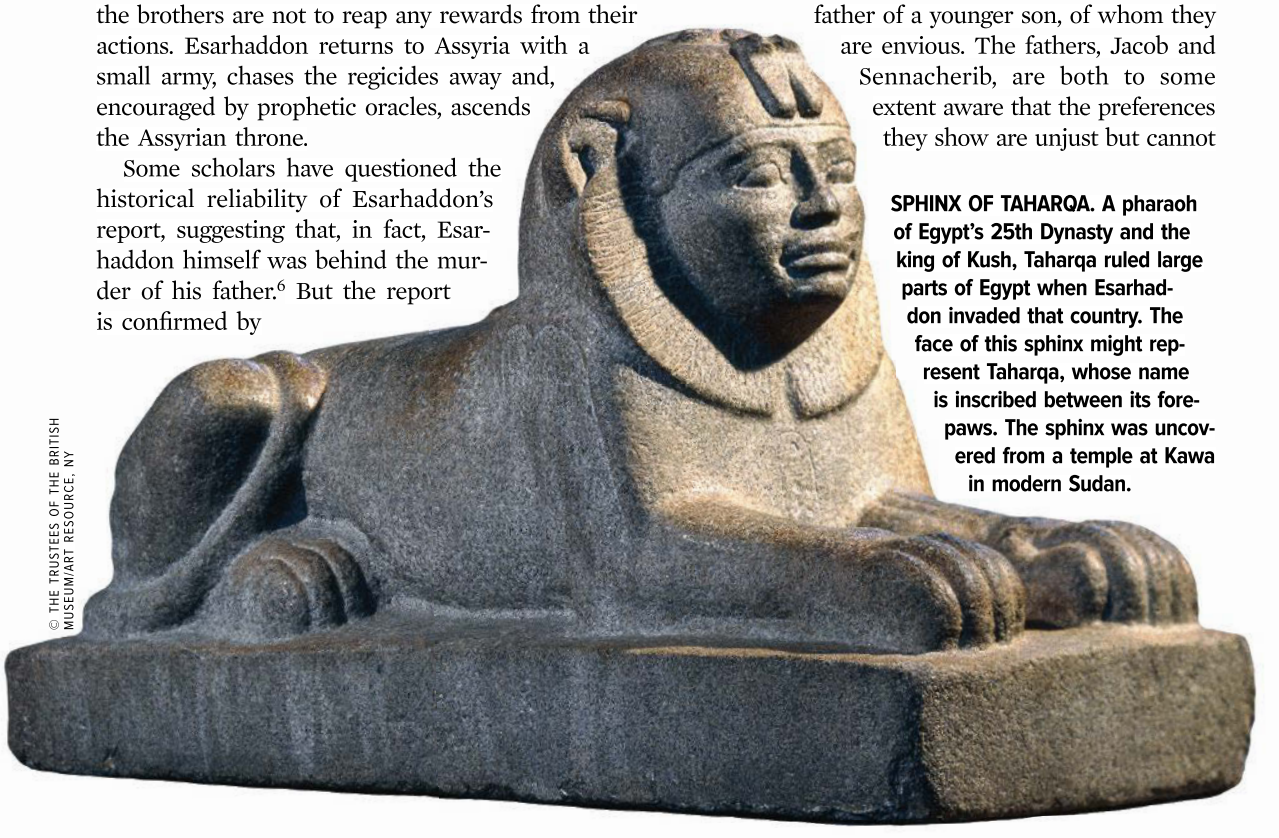
SEVEN YEARS OF PLENTY... Genesis 41 recounts two of Pharaoh's dreams, which are illustrated in the *Golden Haggadah*, a 14th-century Jewish manuscript with Passover prayers and readings. In the first, Pharaoh dreams about seven fat cows and seven scrawny cows. The scrawny cows swallow up the fat cows. Similarly, in his second dream, seven good, plump ears of grain are swallowed by seven blighted ears of grain. When Joseph is summoned to interpret Pharaoh's dream, he explains that the seven fat cows and seven good ears of grain represent seven years of plenty, and the seven gaunt cows and seven blighted ears represent seven years of want. Egypt would prosper for seven years, but then there would be a severe famine for the next seven years.

course of events. Jealous and full of resentment, they conspire against Sennacherib's new succession designation. Sennacherib is affected by their machinations and finally distances himself from his newly minted heir. Secretly, however, Sennacherib continues to wish that Esarhaddon will become king after him. In the meantime, Esarhaddon leaves the capital Nineveh and takes refuge in an unspecified safe location somewhere in the West. Soon after, the brothers "go mad" and commit "deeds that are deeply offensive to the gods and mankind"—a thinly veiled allusion to the fact that, as other sources indicate, they murdered Sennacherib, on the 20th day of the month of Ṭebētu (Tevet), 681/680 B.C.E. But the brothers are not to reap any rewards from their actions. Esarhaddon returns to Assyria with a small army, chases the regicides away and, encouraged by prophetic oracles, ascends the Assyrian throne.

Some scholars have questioned the historical reliability of Esarhaddon's report, suggesting that, in fact, Esarhaddon himself was behind the murder of his father.[6] But the report is confirmed by additional texts, lending support to Esarhaddon's claims. A letter from the early years of Esarhaddon's reign identifies Esarhaddon's brother Urda-Mullissi as the murderer of Sennacherib.[7] Urda-Mullissi is well known from a number of Assyrian documents and was probably Sennacherib's original heir apparent. He is also mentioned in the Bible; 2 Kings 19:37 reports that "his [Sennacherib's] sons Adrammelech and Sharezer killed him with the sword," before "Esarhaddon succeeded him." "Adrammelech" is undoubtedly a garbled form of Urda-Mullissi,[8] and Sharezer (= Assyrian Šarru-uṣur) may well have been another son of Sennacherib, even though he is not yet securely attested in the cuneiform textual record.

The northern Kingdom of Israel was part of the Assyrian Empire in 681 B.C.E. when these events would have taken place. Judah, the southern kingdom, although formally ruled by Manasseh, was an Assyrian vassal state. It is therefore hardly surprising that the leading circles in Jerusalem were well informed about the events that led to Esarhaddon's rise to power following Sennacherib's demise. This is something to keep in mind when we return to our original question—the parallels between the story of Joseph and the story of Esarhaddon.

In broad strokes, these parallels can be summarized as follows: In both cases, we are dealing with elder brothers resenting the promotion by their father of a younger son, of whom they are envious. The fathers, Jacob and Sennacherib, are both to some extent aware that the preferences they show are unjust but cannot



SPHINX OF TAHARQA. A pharaoh of Egypt's 25th Dynasty and the king of Kush, Taharqa ruled large parts of Egypt when Esarhaddon invaded that country. The face of this sphinx might represent Taharqa, whose name is inscribed between its forepaws. The sphinx was uncovered from a temple at Kawa in modern Sudan.

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ESARHADDON PRISM. The text *Nineveh A* recounts the story of Esarhaddon's rise to power and rule. Even though Esarhaddon is not the oldest son of his father Sennacherib, he is nevertheless made Sennacherib's heir apparent—to the chagrin of his older brothers. Jealous, his brothers try to undermine him, and Esarhaddon is forced to take refuge away from the capital Nineveh. After his brothers treacherously murder their father, Esarhaddon returns and claims the throne. Dated to 673–672 B.C.E., the Esarhaddon Prism at the British Museum preserves a copy of *Nineveh A*. Made of clay, the prism has a flat base and slightly convex top.

be persuaded to abandon their choices entirely. And both sons, Joseph as well as Esarhaddon, after initially suffering humiliating defeats, eventually triumph and rise to high office.

At first glance, these parallels may seem rather vague. One could argue that they reflect little else than the universal nature of the theme of fraternal rivalry. Yet a close reading of the two stories reveals a number of more specific similarities. Both deal with conflicts between several elder and one younger brother. In both cases, that younger brother has a mother other than the mother of the elder ones: Joseph is the firstborn son of Rachel, Jacob's second wife; Esarhaddon is the firstborn son of Naqī'a, Sennacherib's second wife.[9]

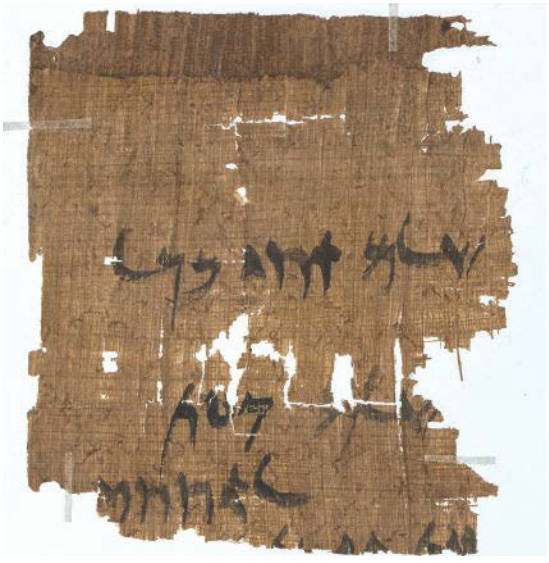
According to the Bible, Jacob encountered Rachel near Ḫarrān, the Upper Mesopotamian hometown of her father Laban (Genesis 27:43, etc.), for whom Jacob would work for 20 years. As Erle Leichty of the University of Pennsylvania has suggested,[10] Ḫarrān may also have been the ancestral home of Sennacherib's wife Naqī'a. While this remains to be proven, there is no question that Esarhaddon was deeply interested in Ḫarrān and invested heavily in its temples. In fact, he had himself crowned there a second time in 671 B.C.E.[11]

Another parallel between the two stories is that the promotion of their respective protagonists is announced and justified through supernatural signs: dreams in the case of Joseph and liver omens and prophecy in the case of Esarhaddon.[12]

The reactions of the elder brothers are similar as well. They are said to have "hated" their younger sibling (*śənō* in Genesis 37:8, *iddanabbubū zērāti* in Esarhaddon's *Nineveh A* inscription, i 28) and to have been jealous of him. The words used to express this jealousy, *wayqan'ū* in Genesis 37:11 and *qīnu* in *Nineveh A*, i 23, derive from the same Semitic root, *qn'*, which is common in Hebrew but rare in Akkadian. Joseph's brothers ask him, "Are you indeed to reign (*hă-mālōḵ timlōḵ*) over us?" (Genesis 37:8). The Hebrew root *mlk* is the same from which the word *meleḵ* "king" is derived, and even though one could explain the brothers' question as figurative speech, it is still remarkable that they refer to Joseph as a potential "king," a position that Esarhaddon actually held.

The way the two fathers deal with the situation is also very much the same. Jacob, while critical of Joseph, is said to have "kept the matter [of Joseph's dreams] in mind" (*šāmar 'eṯ-haddāḇār*, Genesis 37:11). Sennacherib listens to his elder sons maligning Esarhaddon, but "deep down (*šaplānu*)," we are told, "he was compassionate, and his eyes remained fixed on my [Esarhaddon's] exercising kingship" (*Nineveh A*, i 30–31).

A last important parallel between the two stories is that their protagonists both had close connections with Egypt. Joseph experienced his greatest defeats and triumphs in Egypt, where he rose to the position of "governor" or "vizier" (*šallîṭ*, Genesis 42:6)



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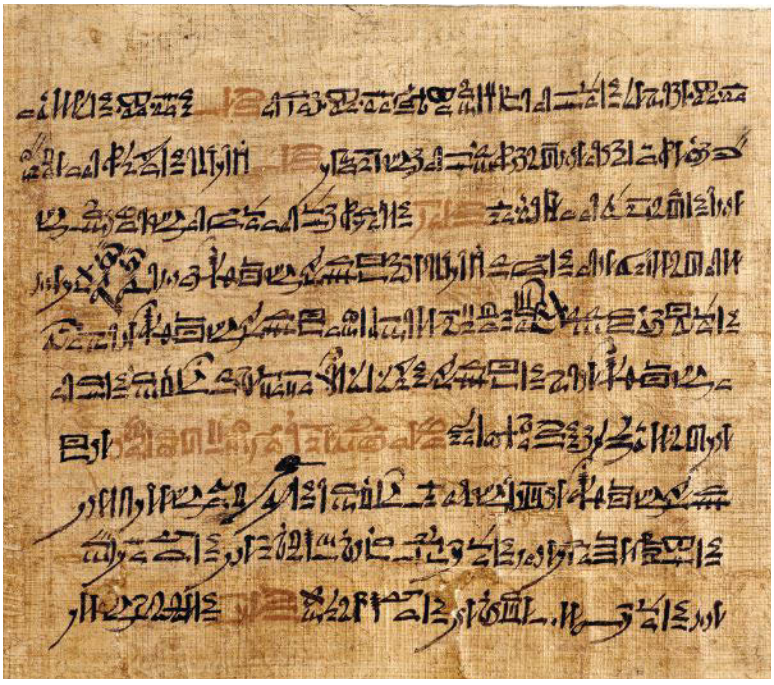
ADAGE OF AḤIQAR. The Aḥiqar story narrates how Aḥiqar, who was an adviser to Sennacherib and Esarhaddon, is unjustly betrayed by his nephew—whom he had adopted as a son and successor. Aḥiqar is imprisoned, awaiting execution during the reign of Esarhaddon. He escapes execution, however, when he reminds the executioner of a favor Aḥiqar had done him during Sennacherib's reign—when he had similarly saved the executioner from an unjust death. The executioner kills another prisoner instead and presents it to Esarhaddon as the body of Aḥiqar. The earliest copies of the *Story of Aḥiqar* do not survive beyond this point, but later versions narrate how Aḥiqar emerges from hiding, helps the Egyptian king and returns in triumph to Assyria.

The original fifth-century B.C.E. Aramaic version of the *Story of Aḥiqar* was discovered on Elephantine Island in 1907 by German archaeologists. Most of the damaged papyrus, including this fragment, is kept in the library of the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin.

and eventually died, being "110 years old" (Genesis 50:26). As for Esarhaddon, his most remarkable victory was his conquest of Egypt in 671 B.C.E., three years after an initial attack by his troops had been thwarted. Egypt's fall to the Assyrians, possibly with support from the Judahite king Manasseh, was a triumph for the conquerors and a traumatic experience for the Egyptians. In 669 B.C.E., Esarhaddon went on yet another campaign to Egypt, in the course of which he died.

Even though there is no proof, these parallels suggest that the author(s) of the Joseph story borrowed a number of key motifs from the story of Esarhaddon's rise to power. What remains unclear is at what time this borrowing occurred: in the immediate aftermath of Esarhaddon's reign or much later. Both timeframes are feasible.

Although Assyrian royal inscriptions were normally addressed to a rather limited audience, mostly members of the Assyrian elite and later Assyrian kings, Esarhaddon's account of how he had become king may have circulated more widely. It seems to have been composed with the purpose of preparing Esarhaddon's subjects for the king's own succession arrangement, aimed at making his son Assurbanipal the next king, and one can easily imagine that some version of it was disseminated in conjunction with the loyalty oaths Esarhaddon imposed on Assyrians and Assyrian vassals alike in 672 B.C.E. That these loyalty oaths were also sworn by the political elites of Judah is indicated by the fact that portions of an early version of the Biblical Book of Deuteronomy, probably a few decades later, seem to have been modeled on them.[13]



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TALE OF TWO BROTHERS. The Papyrus D'Orbiney (c. 1185 B.C.E.) at the British Museum includes the Egyptian *Tale of Two Brothers*. In this text, two brothers, Anpu and Bata, live together under the same roof. All is well until the wife of Anpu tries to seduce her brother-in-law, Bata. He resists her advances, and she then accuses him of attacking her. Anpu believes her and expels Bata from the household. Later, Anpu discovers the truth and kills his wife. The brothers are then reconciled. The story continues, but this portion is the most meaningful for comparison with the Biblical story of Joseph in Potiphar's household where he is jailed on the basis of a wife's false accusation.

SEVEN YEARS OF WANT... Discovered on Sehel Island, at the Nile's First Cataract, the Famine Stele describes a seven-year famine that occurred in Egypt. While the inscription itself dates to the Ptolemaic period (332–331 B.C.E.), it tells of events more than 2,000 years earlier. During the reign of King Djoser of the Third Dynasty (c. 2670 B.C.E.), a severe drought plagued Egypt. Djoser consults the sage Imhotep, who determines that the flooding of the Nile is controlled by the god Khnum; his temple is located in the Nile on Elephantine Island. After making propitiations to the god Khnum, Djoser has a dream in which Khnum appears and assures him that the Nile will flow again, thus ending the seven-year famine. Djoser responds with more offerings for Khnum. This inscription has numerous parallels with the story of Joseph in Genesis 41.

It is also possible that the author(s) of the Joseph story knew about Esarhaddon's rise to power through popular tales about the king that circulated long after his reign. The most prominent of these tales is the Aḥiqar story, about a sage and adviser to the Assyrian kings Sennacherib and Esarhaddon.[14] Known from an Aramaic papyrus from the island of Elephantine in Upper Egypt dating to the second half of the fifth century B.C.E., the tale is also attested in later versions in many other languages. A reference to Aḥiqar occurs, moreover, in the Book of Tobit (1:21–22). It has been repeatedly observed that Aḥiqar's role as a royal counselor who is maligned and imprisoned but eventually saved mirrors Joseph's role in Egypt. The Demotic *Inaros Epic*, known from papyri from the first or second century C.E., features Esarhaddon as well, focusing on the wars between Egypt and Assyria.[15] In light of these various stories, it seems feasible that there was also a narrative tradition that touched on Esarhaddon's relationship with his brothers.

The existence in Late Period Egypt of several tales about Esarhaddon is of particular interest if one considers that certain motifs in the Joseph story seem to have a genuinely Egyptian background. On one hand,

CONTINUES ON PAGE 63

Ancient Jerusalem

THE VILLAGE, THE TOWN, THE CITY

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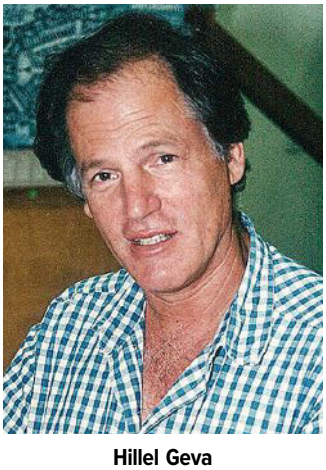
It's made such an enormous impact on Western civilization that it's hard to fathom how small its population really was—small compared even to the centers of contemporaneous empires to the east and to the west. Of course, I'm talking about Jerusalem.

Today many of us live in cities of millions. Very few of us live in towns of only thousands, but hardly any of us live in a village as small as King David's capital.

A new study of Jerusalem's population in various periods has recently been published by one of Israel's leading Jerusalem archaeologists, Hillel Geva of Hebrew University of Jerusalem, and the Israel Exploration Society. Geva bases his estimates on "archaeological findings, rather than vague textual sources." The result is what he calls a "minimalist view."[1] But whether you accept Geva's population estimates or those of various other scholars he cites, to the modern observer the ancient city of Jerusalem can only be described as "tiny"—with population estimates at thousands and tens of thousands during many periods of the city's history. (In comparison, Rome in the century before Jesus lived is estimated to have had a population of 400,000 tax-paying males—so the entire population must have been about a million.)



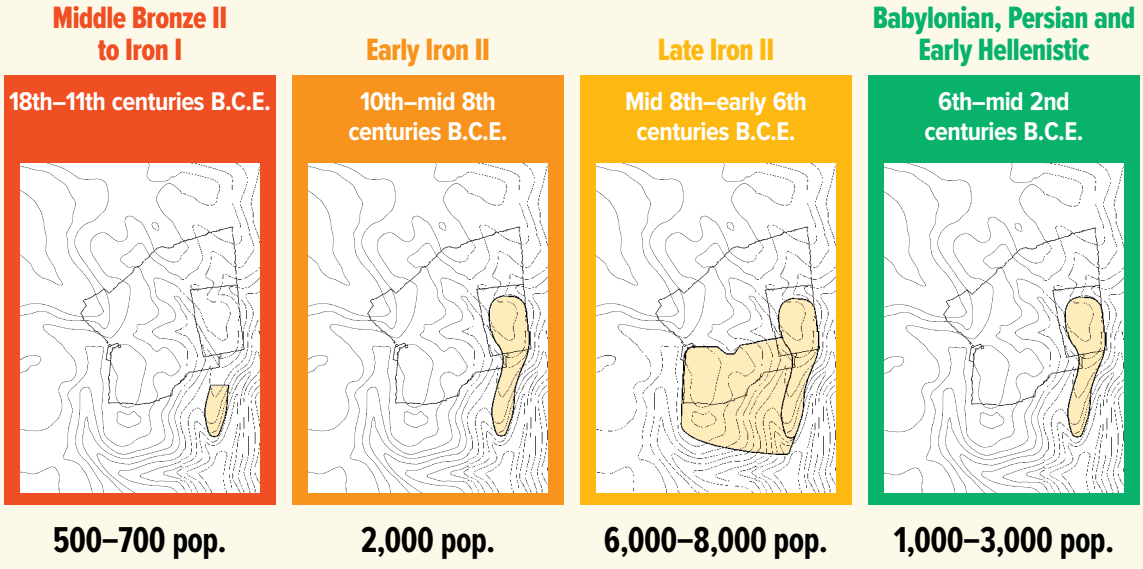
Hillel Geva

The first period that Geva considers in his study is from the 18th–11th centuries B.C.E. (Middle Bronze Age II to Iron Age I, in archaeological terms), the period before the arrival of the Israelites. Jerusalem was then confined to the small spur south of the Temple Mount known today as the City of David. As Geva reminds us, even then Jerusalem "was the center of an important territorial entity." From this period, the area includes a massive fortification system that has recently been excavated.* Overall, however, the area comprises only about 11–12 acres. Geva estimates the population of the city during this period at between 500 and 700 "at most." (Previously other prominent

*See Robin Ngo, "Canaanite Fortress Discovered in the City of David," *Bible History Daily* (blog), April 7, 2014 (www.biblicalarchaeology.org/fortress).

Jerusalem over the Ages

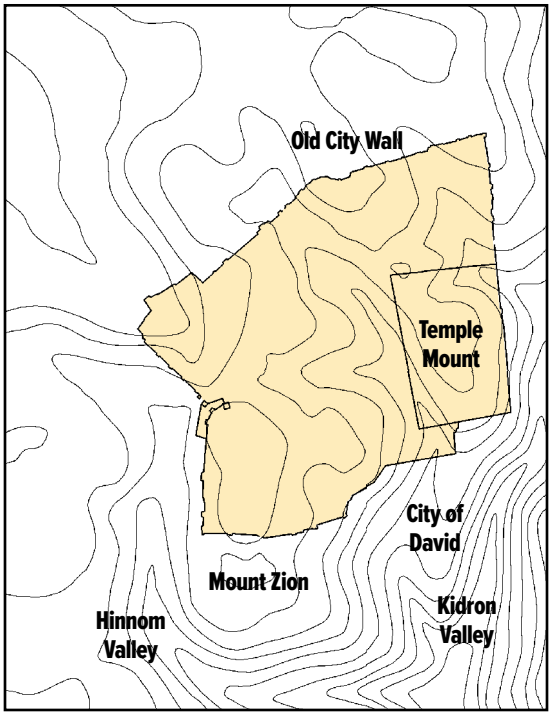
Jerusalem from the Middle Bronze Age through to the Early Islamic Period (Images by Ravit Nenner-Soriano; timeline by Noa Evron)[2]



scholars had estimated Jerusalem's population in this period as 880–1,100, 1,000, 2,500, 3,000; still this is hardly what we would consider a metropolis.)

The next period Geva considers is the period of the United Monarchy, the time of King David and King Solomon and a couple centuries thereafter (1000 B.C.E. down to about the eighth century B.C.E.). In David's time, the borders of the city did not change from the previous period. However, King Solomon expanded the confines of the city northward to include the Temple Mount. This increased the size of the city to about 40 acres, but the increase in population was not proportionate since much of this expansion was taken up with the Temple and royal buildings. "It is likely that Jerusalem attracted new inhabitants of different social classes," Geva tells us. "Some of these people came to reside in the city as a consequence of their official and religious capacities, while others came to seek a livelihood in its developing economy." Geva estimates the population of the city at this time at about 2,000. (Previously, other scholars had estimated the number of people living in the city at this time as 2,000, 2,500 or 4,500–5,000.)

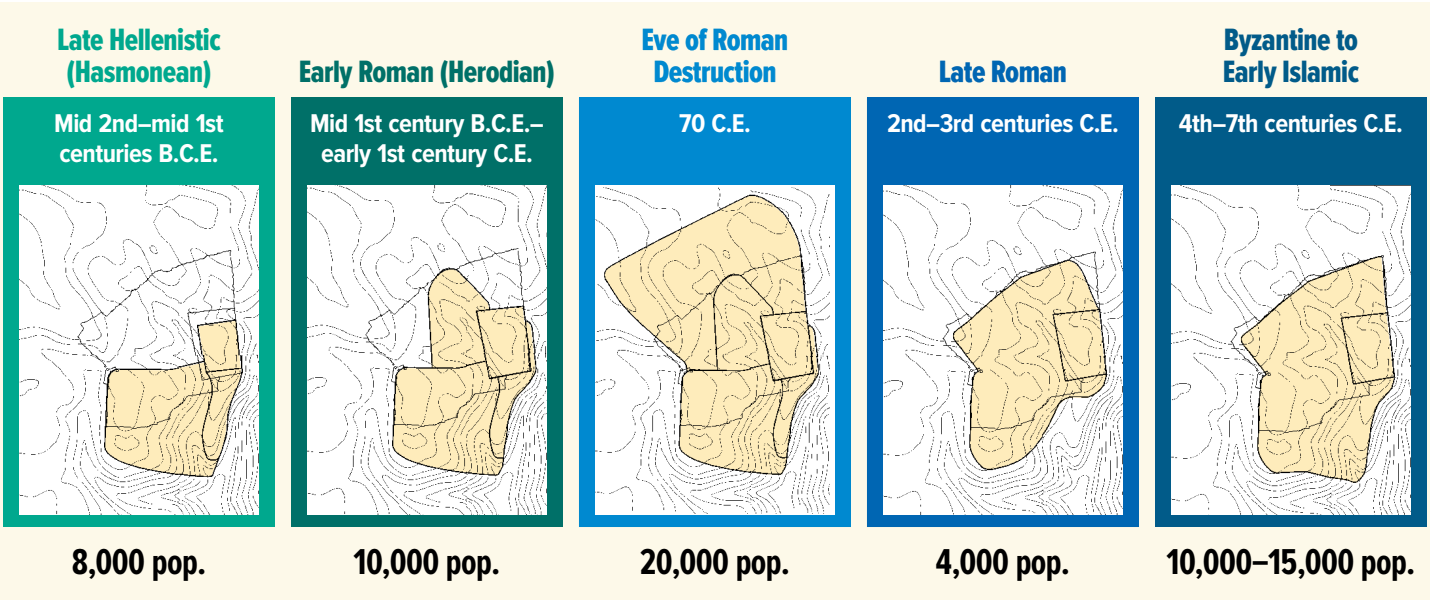
Jerusalem Landmarks



The shaded area reflects the current walled Old City of Jerusalem.

In the mid-eighth century B.C.E., the area usually referred to as the Western Hill was added to the city of Jerusalem. This area is well documented archaeologically. With this addition, more than a hundred acres were added to the city, and the population of the city increased proportionately. According to some scholars, this increase may have been at least in part due to the influx of refugees from the north after the Assyrian conquest of the northern kingdom of Israel in 721 B.C.E.

By the end of the First Temple period (the First Temple was destroyed by the Babylonians in 586 B.C.E.), the walled city of Jerusalem covered 160 acres. By that time, settlement also extended northward outside the city walls, all of which expanded the city further. At its height, the population of



Jerusalem at the end of the eighth century B.C.E., according to Geva, was 8,000.

As a result of the siege of Jerusalem by the Assyrian monarch Sennacherib in 701 B.C.E., Jerusalem's population declined to about 6,000, and so it remained until the Babylonians destroyed the city in 586 B.C.E. and forced much of its population into exile in Babylon.

Other population estimates of Jerusalem during the nearly 200 years before the Babylonian destruction vary widely—partially because they focus on different time periods. Geva's estimate is carefully grounded in archaeological data.

After the Babylonian destruction, the few inhabitants who remained in the city (or who returned) lived primarily in the old area of the City of David. After the Persians wrested control of Jerusalem from the Babylonians and even after Jerusalem became the capital of the Persian province of Yehud, Jerusalem continued to be confined to the spur known as the City of David with an estimated population of about a thousand people on 40 acres. (Geva calls it "minute." Israel Finkelstein of Tel Aviv University puts the number even lower: 400 to 500.)

It was not until the late Hellenistic (Hasmonean) period (150–50 B.C.E.) that Jerusalem flourished again, just as it had at the time before the Babylonian destruction. Geva's population estimate: 8,000.

The next period—the Herodian (or Early Roman) period—extending from about 50 B.C.E. to the Roman destruction of Jerusalem in 70 C.E., includes the time when Jesus is associated with the city. Again, this period is very well documented archaeologically, but estimates of the city's population at the time of the Roman destruction vary widely. One scholar estimated the number at nearly a quarter million, another at more than a 100,000. Several put the number around 75,000. A number of others estimated between 25,000 and 75,000. Geva, always the population minimalist, estimates the number at 20,000.

In the Byzantine period (fourth–seventh centuries C.E.), Jerusalem was a Christian city.* Estimates of the city's population are as high as 100,000 and then go down gradually to 70,000 to 60,000 to 50,000 to 25,000. Geva's estimate: 15,000.

In 637 C.E. the Muslims besieged Jerusalem; the period of Islamic Jerusalem commenced. The change in the population's religious commitment was gradual but constant. And since the city of Jerusalem was not as central to Islam as to Christianity, the number of people living there gradually declined. By the 10th–11th centuries C.E., the city was confined to the area of the present Old City. Geva estimates the population at only 7,000.

However you cut it, Jerusalem was a tiny place in ancient times. Yet it played a major role in the march of history.—**H.S.**

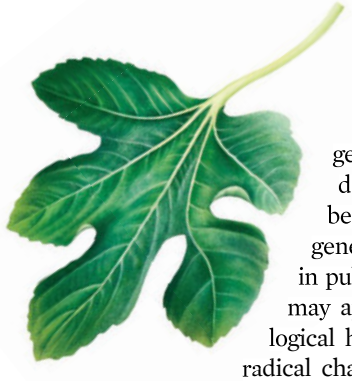
[1] Hillel Geva, "Jerusalem's Population in Antiquity: A Minimalist View," *Tel Aviv* 41 (2014), pp. 131–160.
[2] We thank Hillel Geva and *Tel Aviv* (Journal of the Institute of Archaeology of Tel Aviv University) for the images.

*See Hershel Shanks, "After Hadrian's Banishment: Jews in Christian Jerusalem," **BAR**, September/October 2014; Eilat Mazar, "Temple Mount Excavations Unearth the Monastery of the Virgins," **BAR**, May/June 2004; Jodi Magness, "Illuminating Byzantine Jerusalem," **BAR**, March/April 1998.

From Eden to *Ednah*

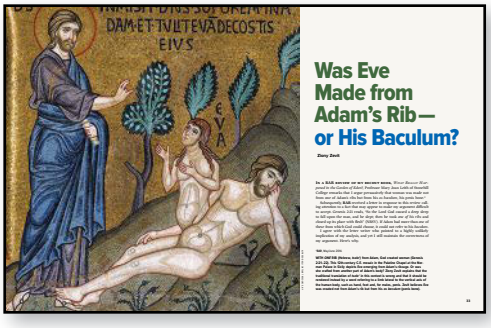
Lilith in the Garden

Dan Ben-Amos



For centuries, the paradise described in Genesis 2–3 has been a formative myth in Judeo-Christian culture. The creation of the woman from Adam's rib (Genesis 2:21–23) both projected and validated women's inferior and secondary role in Western society. Therefore, the new interpretation of the Hebrew word *tsela'*, shifting its meaning from rib to *baculum* (penal bone), which Alan Dundes and Ziony Zevit have proposed, is nothing short of revolutionary, shifting the mythic paradigm from an obscure derivation of woman from man, to her primary and equal role in procreative bonding.

With their insightful analyses, Zevit and Dundes challenge a fundamental tenet of Judeo-Christian culture, and a basic principle that has underscored social gender relations for generations. In recent public and academic discourse these relations have been subject to intense examination, generating changes in the family and in public spaces of modern society. What may appear only to be a pedantic philological hair-splitting argument is, in fact, a radical change in the mythic model for relations between men and women. Dundes and Zevit still recognize that in paradise woman was created from man, but instead of the sexually neutral rib, their interpretation recasts this creation in concrete sexual terms that are the basis of human regeneration. Let me unpack this.



In his recent **BAR** article,* Ziony Zevit examines the basic philological aspects of his proposal. He points to the extensive

*Ziony Zevit, "Was Eve Made from Adam's Rib—or His Baculum?" **BAR**, September/October 2015.

use of the lexeme *tsela'* in the Hebrew Bible, from Genesis to the Prophets; yet it occurs only twice (in Genesis 2:21, 22) in the challenged meaning, that is, rib. In all the other occurrences in the Hebrew Bible, it clearly refers to the side of a structure, an object, or a mountain. This is its meaning in Biblical Hebrew from Exodus to Ezekiel (early sixth century B.C.E).

In post-Biblical Hebrew, the meaning changed. From the Hebrew of the Mishnah until the present time, *tsela'* has come to refer to either a rib or side, depending on its context, or metaphorically—drawing upon the traditional interpretation of the Biblical text—to wife.[1] It is quite true that in the Biblical texts there are no other examples of the use of *tsela'* as penal bone, but words with unique meanings are not a rarity in the Hebrew Bible.

A philological approach to the problem would examine linguistic changes over time and seek out word meanings in their historical contexts. A mythological analysis, however (especially in the structural method of Claude Lévi-Strauss [1908–2009]), would collapse historical times into structures of binary oppositions that represent thought, belief and imagination in oral societies.[2] (For this kind of analysis, the literate record of myth is accidental, depending on a literate person, who happened to be a witness to the verbal or ritualistic articulation of a given mythic theme. Successive recordings of myth do not necessarily demonstrate its historical changes, however, but only expose the development of existing mythic thought.)

The myth of the Garden of Eden and the story of creation of humanity is a prime example. They rest upon a structure of binary oppositions that unfold in three versions:

In the first, the binary opposition is sexual, *zakhar u-nekevah bara 'otam* ("male and female He created them") (Genesis 1:27).

The next two versions describe the respective creation of man and woman. Man is created from earth—the land that farmers till—forming an affinity between the man and his labor; this is explained by an etiological pun (see underlined Hebrew words): *'adam 'afar min ha-'adamah* ("man from the dust of the earth") (Genesis 2:7).

The third version tells about the creation of woman out of *tsela'*, whom the man names, employing a similar etiological pun (see underlined Hebrew words): *'ishah ki me-'ish lukḥah* ("Woman, for from man she was taken") (Genesis 2:23). The man perceives her as *basar* ("flesh"), projecting a male's sexual desire. Here we find an expansion of the initial gender opposition between male and female in the first version of binary oppositions into an oppositional projection from the man's perspective between matter and desire, and then labor and pleasure.

In addition to the binary oppositions that the Biblical text articulates, there is another that is implicit in the unfolding versions of the myth. In the instances of binary opposition that tell us about the creation of woman, human fertility is part of the story. But in the first version God's blessing of fertility and increase is *not* confirmed, while in the third version it is confirmed both as a punishment and as the singular attribute of the woman. She becomes "the mother of all the living" (Genesis 3:20), and Adam names her individually, employing the same literary device of the etiological pun, Eve: *Vayikra ha-'adam shem'ishto ḥavah ki hi haytah 'em kol-ḥay*. ("The man named his wife Eve [*ḥawwâ*], because she was the mother of all the living [*ḥay*]" [Genesis 3:20]). The name Ḥavah in Hebrew puns with ḥay, and both are a derivation from the root *ḥyh* "to live."

But who is this woman of the first version of binary opposition, whose fertility is not confirmed, and whom the Biblical text does not name? Her story seems to hover at the edges of literacy with sporadic references. Isaiah mentions her name at one point, but not her mythic identity, referring to a demonic female in the desert: "Wildcats shall meet hyenas, goat-demons shall greet each other; there too the lilith shall repose and find herself a resting place" (Isaiah 34:14). Later, in the post-Biblical period, the sages identify the lilith several times, not by name, but as "the First Eve,"[3] indicating that her full story was well known in oral tradition, yet barred from the canonized Biblical text. Finally, in the tenth century C.E. in Babylon, an anonymous writer, who was not bound by normative traditional principles and who included in his book some other sexually explicit tales, spelled out the lilith's adventures in paradise. The apocraphyal work known as *The Tales of Ben Sira* recounts Lilith's creation:

> The young son of the king took ill. The king Nebuchadnezzar demanded, "Heal my son. If you don't, I will kill you." Ben Sira immediately sat down and wrote an amulet with the Holy Name, and he inscribed on it the angels in charge of medicine by their names, form and images and by their wings, hands and feet. Nebuchadnezzar looked at the amulet. "Who are these?"
>
> Ben Sira answered, "The angels who are in charge of medicine: Snvi, Snsvi and Smnglof. After God created Adam, who was alone, He said, 'It is not good for man to be alone'

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WILY TEMPTER. In Genesis 3, the serpent is described as being "more crafty than any other wild animal." While the serpent is depicted as a trickster in this passage, it was often a symbol of regeneration or immortality in the ancient Near East. This 5-inch-long copper serpent was uncovered at Timna (in southern Israel) inside a 13th- or 12th-century B.C.E. Midianite temple. The serpent is partially gilded with remnants of gold tape still wrapped around its head. Many draw parallels between the Timna serpent and the bronze serpent described in Numbers 21:9 that Moses fashioned and placed on top of a pole to cure the Israelites of their snakebites.

(Genesis 2:18). He then created a woman for Adam, from the earth, as He had created Adam himself, and called her Lilith. Adam and Lilith immediately began to fight. She said, 'I will not lie below,' and he said, 'I will not lie beneath you, but only on top. For you are fit only to be in the bottom position, while I am to be in the superior one.' Lilith responded, 'We are equal to each other inasmuch as we were both created from the earth.' But they would not listen to one another. When Lilith saw this, she pronounced the Ineffable Name and flew away into the air, Adam stood in prayer before his Creator: 'Sovereign of the universe,' he said, 'the woman who you gave me has run away.' At once, the Holy One, blessed be he, sent these three angels to bring her back.

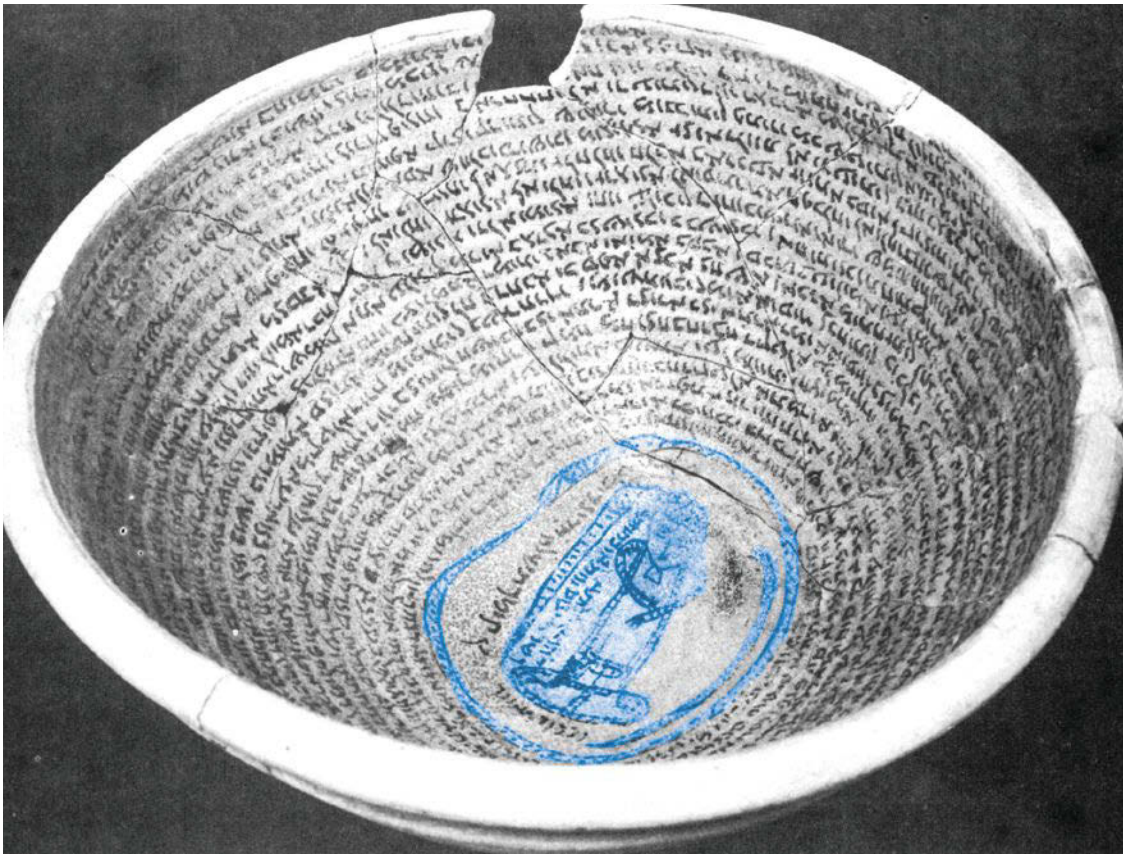
"Said the Holy One to Adam, 'If she agrees to come back, fine. If not, she must permit one hundred of her children to die every day.' The angels left God and pursued Lilith, whom they overtook in the midst of the sea, in the mighty waters where the Egyptians were destined to drown. They told her God's word, but she did not wish to return. The angels said, 'We shall drown you in the sea.'

"'Leave me!' she said. 'I was created only to cause sickness to infants. If the infant is male, I have dominion over him for eight days after his birth, and if female, for twenty days.'

"When the angels heard Lilith's words, they insisted she go back. But she swore to them by the name of the living and eternal God: 'Whenever I see you or your names or your form in an amulet, I will have no power over the infant.' She also agreed to have one hundred of her children die every day. Accordingly, every day one hundred demons perish, and for the same reason, we write the angels' names on the amulets of young children. When Lilith sees their names, she remembers her oath, and the child recovers."[4]

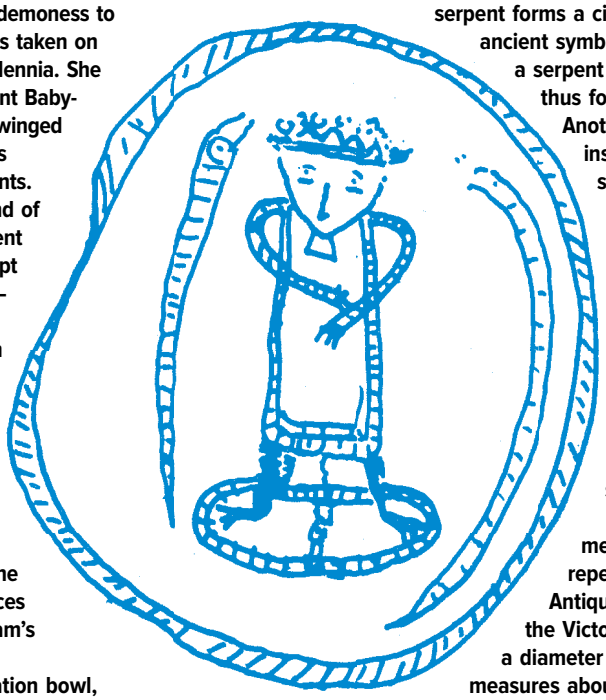
Since then, she seduces men at night—and even scholars at their desks. She became the most explored and analyzed demoness.[5]

In their sexuality and fertility, Lilith and Eve are inversions of each other: Lilith has pleasure without children, and Eve delivers children not simply without pleasure, but in pain.



COURTESY V. KLAGSBALD, JERUSALEM

NIGHT DEMONESS. From demoness to Adam's first wife, Lilith has taken on many shapes over the millennia. She is first mentioned in ancient Babylonian texts as a class of winged female demon that attacks pregnant women and infants. From Babylonia, the legend of "the lilith" spread to ancient Anatolia, Syria, Israel, Egypt and Greece. In this guise—as a wilderness demoness—she appears in Isaiah 34:14 among a list of nocturnal creatures who will haunt the destroyed kingdom of Edom. This is her only mention in the Bible, but her legend continued to grow in ancient Judaism. During the Middle Ages, Jewish sources began to claim her as Adam's first—and terrifying—wife.



In this Aramaic incantation bowl, depicting Lilith in its center (highlighted in blue), her arms appear to be crossed. A circle is drawn around her feet. Two serpents surround her. The first serpent forms a circle around her. (This ancient symbol, the ouroboros, shows a serpent or dragon eating its tail, thus forming a complete circle.) Another serpent is pictured inside the ouroboros; this serpent appears on three sides of Lilith, but not the bottom. Although the central figure looks androgynous, we know it is Lilith because she is identified by an inscription inside the circle. A text that mentions Lilith and other evil spirits is written on the inside of the bowl in spiral concentric circles. Incantation bowls were meant to both capture and repel evil spirits. This Late Antique incantation bowl from the Victor Klagsbald Collection has a diameter of about 13 inches and measures about 6 inches tall. Compared to other Aramaic incantation bowls, it is both unusually large and inscribed with a remarkably long text.

Narratologically, the Garden of Eden story consists of several episodes that are embedded within each other. Regardless of whether the narrative is an editorial patchwork or a creative composition by a single hand, its storytelling art involves the interlocking of several themes told within different possible frames. Such is the account of the representation of nature in language. The creative acts of God, great as they are, require human recognition and affirmation which are achieved through language. The story begins with two prefatory verses, "The Lord God said, "It is not good for man to be alone; I will make a fitting helper for him." And the Lord God formed out of the earth all the wild beasts and all the birds of the sky, and brought them to the man to see what he would call them; and whatever the man called each living creature, that would be its name" (Genesis 2:18–19). Then, the actual story begins with the verb *vayikra* ("and the man gave names," [Genesis 2:20] to all the creatures upon the earth) and concludes with the same verb, *vayikra* ("the man named his wife Eve" [Genesis 3:20]).

Three stories are embedded within the narrative of the first manifestation of human linguistic ability: (a) the creation of the woman; (b) the serpent in the Garden of Eden; and (c) the expulsion from paradise.

The serpent in paradise may be a symbol of regeneration in ancient Near Eastern cultures[6] or of immortality[7] as some scholars suggest, but in this particular story, it is a trickster (*arum*, "shrewdest"), a ubiquitous figure of transformation in many cultures.[8] Wittingly, in the text this adjective puns with the description of the naked (*arumim*) man and woman. The serpent does not give the man and the woman a lesson in sexual education. They were sexually active before they met it (Genesis 2:24). The serpent transforms nature into culture, making them aware of their nakedness, in consequence of which they produced (*vayitperu*, "sewed") some clothing, differentiating between them and the entire animal world. Following this transformation, God enters into a dialogue with both of them, at the conclusion of which the man accuses his wife for their transformation from a natural to a cultural state.

Dundes's and Zevit's interpretation of the woman's creation story suggests that Adam consistently blames his wife in this story. The first time he speaks in his own voice after they are a couple, it is in the context of sexual copulation. Both the standard King James and the Jewish Publication Society translations render the Hebrew word *davak* as "shall cleave" and "clings," respectively. While such a translation is psychologically and spiritually correct, the narrative context suggests that the verb refers to a graphic description of sexual intercourse, since it is followed by the phrase "so that they become one flesh" (Genesis 2:24).[9]

Ideally intercourse is an act of love and couple harmony, but too often the man fails to recover himself, precisely at the point in which the woman wishes the continuation or the recurrence of her orgasmic bliss. For his failure to satisfy her, the man also accuses the woman. She is "bone of [his] bones" (Genesis 2:23) which was removed from him, according to Dundes' and Zevit's interpretation, thus preventing him, according to his thinking, from prolonged intercourse like other animals. Perhaps not accidentally the Hebrew Biblical term for orgasm is "*ednah,*" a word constructed from the same root as "Eden" in the compound Hebrew term for Paradise (see Genesis 18:12). The King James and the Jewish Publication Society translations of this word are "pleasure" and "enjoyment," respectively.

The expulsion from paradise humanized Adam and Eve. Without his penal bone, man became less virile than the animals to which God made him superior, but he obtained a wife, a mate. What really happened in the Garden of Eden was the creation of man and woman. Outside its gates, the family—the foundation of human culture—was created. Eve became not only *em kol ḥay* (mother of all living), but also the mother of humanity.

[1] See "The Historical Dictionary Project" of The Academy of the Hebrew Language (*maagarim.hebrew.academy.org.il/Pages/Pmain.aspx#*) that represents the philological development of Hebrew language from the post-Biblical texts (200 C.E.) until the present.

[2] Claude Lévi-Strauss was one of the most prolific and influential anthropologist of the 20th century. Among the many books and articles by and about him, probably the most pertinent is Edmund Leach's *Genesis as Myth and Other Essays* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1969).

[3] *Genesis Rabba* 22.8; Louis Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews*, vol. 5 (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1909–1946), pp. 88, 138; Eli Yassif, *The Tales of Ben Sira in the Middle-Ages: A Critical Text and Literary Studies* (Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, 1984), pp. 64–67.

[4] David Stern and Mark Jay Mirsky, eds. *Rabbinic Fantasies: Imaginative Narratives from Classical Hebrew Literature* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1990), pp. 183–184. The passage appeared in *The Tales of Ben Sira*. A critical edition of this book is Yassif, *Tales of Ben Sira*, see in particular p. 232 for the original Hebrew text and analytical comments about it in pp. 63–69.

[5] For a selection of Lilith scholarship, see Nitza Abrabanel, *Eve and Lilith* (Ramat-Gan: Bar Ilan Univ. Press, 1994) [Hebrew]; Joseph Dan, "Samael, Lilith, and the Concept of Evil in Early Kabbalah," *AJS Review* 5 (1980), pp. 17–40; R.P. Dow, "The Vengeful Brood of Lilith and Samael," *Bulletin of the Brooklyn Entomological Society* 12 (1917), pp. 2–9; G.R. Driver, "Lilith," *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 91 (1959), pp. 55–57; Mordechai Gafni and Ohad Ezrahi, *Who's Afraid of Lilith: Re-Reading the Kabbalah of the Feminine Shadow* (Moshav Ben-Shemen: Modan, 2005) [Hebrew]; A.S. Freidus, "A Bibliography of Lilith," *Bulletin of the Brooklyn*

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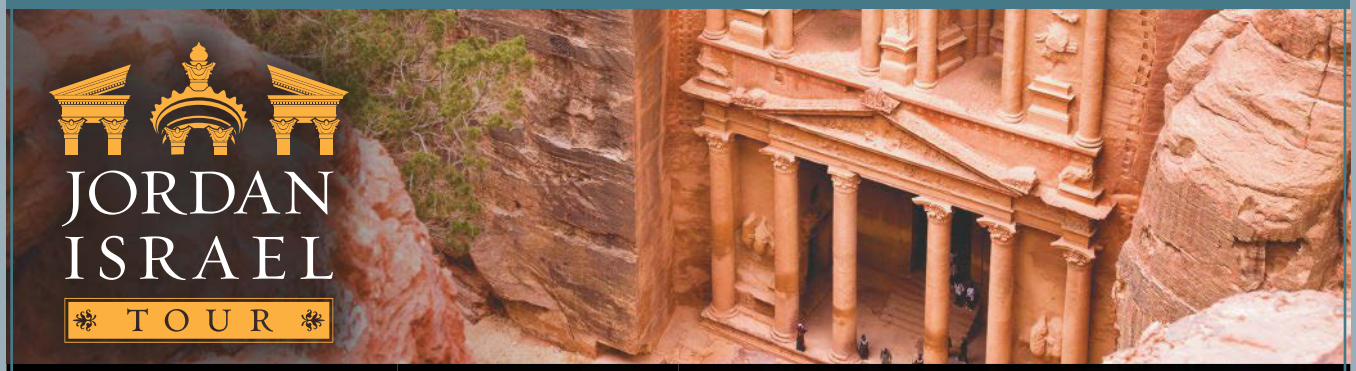

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OCTOBER 27
Mt. Nebo, Madaba

OCTOBER 28
Full-day tour of Petra.

OCTOBER 29
Jerash and Gardara, transfer to Sheikh Hussein border.

ISRAEL TOUR SEGMENT

OCTOBER 29
Roman city of Beth Shean, transfer to Tiberias.

OCTOBER 30
Sea of Galilee sites incl. Capernaum, Mount of Beatitudes, Banias.

OCTOBER 31
Cana, Nazareth, Sepphoris.

NOVEMBER 1
Megiddo, Mt. Carmel and Caesarea, transfer to Jerusalem.

NOVEMBER 2
Old City of Jerusalem

NOVEMBER 3
New City of Jerusalem, Herodium, Bethlehem, Israel Museum

NOVEMBER 4
Lachish, Valley of Elah and Jaffa

NOVEMBER 5
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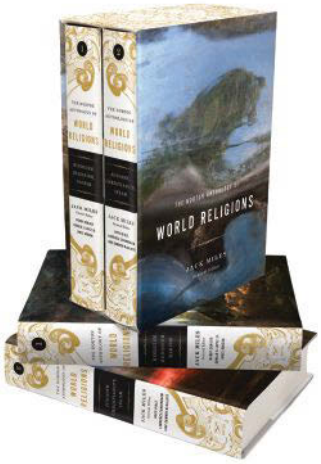

Vast in Scope but Lacking in Theoretical Cohesion

The Norton Anthology of World Religions: vol. 1—Hinduism, Buddhism, Daoism; vol. 2—Judaism, Christianity, Islam

Edited by Jack Miles, Wendy Doniger, Donald Lopez Jr. and James Robson (vol. 1); and Jack Miles, David Biale, Lawrence Cunningham and Jane Dammen McAuliffe (vol. 2)

(New York, London: W.W. Norton, 2015), lxiv + 2250 pp. (Vol. 1), lxiv + 2079 pp. (vol. 2), $100 (hardcover)

Reviewed by Bruce Chilton

These two elegantly produced volumes, vast in scope and (for their contents) reasonably priced, will perform both service and disservice for some time to come.

The editors of each of the entries—Hinduism, Buddhism and Daoism and then Judaism, Christianity and Islam—have provided rich slices of the literary inheritance of each of these traditions. Everyone in the field would profit from considering the texts presented here; they take us up to our own time, well beyond any restrictive notion of canon. At the same time, texts typically considered to be authoritative are also represented.

The format of presentation is rigorously chronological, and the discussion for the most part is historical (with some theological consideration), so that students as well as teachers will profit from considering the range of literature involved. Indeed, the chronologies of the literature presented undermine the order of presentation in the volumes, a point that should have been addressed by the general editor in the introduction. Other editors might have made different choices of texts, preferred other translations, and/or taken a different route in assessing the development of a given tradition. But that is the world of critical discussion.

The editors have provided more detailed chronologies than might have been expected from a project of this breadth, and the illustrations—both black and white and color—enhance the volume (although some of the choices may seem pedestrian to experts in the field). Each editor also decides how a religion is presented; that is, they individually determine what makes their religion a religion. That is a fraught question, of course, because one of the first things (if not the first thing) any scholar will say about religious tradition is that it is not uniform, and that multiplicity within any religion makes it problematic to speak of religion as a generic category.

Yet somehow scholars engaged in teaching about religion find an approach, and the editors of these volumes choose tried and approved (if not proven) options in the study of religion. Wendy Doniger defines the scope of her inquiry along the lines of clusters of repeated themes within the Hindu literature selected; Donald Lopez focuses on the troika of the Buddha, teaching and community; and James Robson explores the definition of the "Way" referenced in Daoism. David Biale thinks of Judaism in terms of the history of the Jewish people; Lawrence Cunningham sees the eternity of Christ as the Word of God as the center of Christianity; and Jane Dammen McAuliffe presents Islam in terms of submission to the exact disclosure of Allah's message in the Qur'an.

Confronted with vast traditions, the editors make wise as well as defensible choices and select theoretical points of view that are widely followed. Two related difficulties emerge, however, which together factor into the disservice that these volumes also perform. The general editor, Jack Miles, sets out the purpose of the project in terms of "comparison," one tradition to others. But the lack of discussion among the editors on the definition of "religion" means that the comparison is bound to be one of apples to oranges. Miles himself claims that an interest in practice unifies the approaches and suggests that Doniger's idea of the cluster of themes would work more generally. But the themes of Hinduism cannot be applied without distortion to other systems of religion, and the other editors do not take up Miles's provisional views.

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In his introduction, which opens the first volume and is repeated verbatim in the second volume, Miles identifies confusion in the study of religion as the reason for a lack of theoretical coherence. When he does cite scholars of religion, it is to stress observations of continuing uncertainty. He does refer to allegedly big events in scholarship such as the World's Parliament of Religions (which met in Chicago in 1893) and the foundation of the American Academy of Religion (in 1909). What made these events significant, however, was not the production of any communiqué, but the quality of the approaches involved.

Lack of an overall theoretical approach is not surprising and for many purposes would not be significant. But in this case, the claim is to provide an anthology of world religions. For all the disagreement there is concerning how to define and study religion, the discipline is quite clear that the great traditions under discussion do more than produce words, documents and ideas. They certainly do so, but they engage those ideological forms with ritual activities and ethical imperatives. Indeed, for most practitioners at most times, the life of the traditions—even the intellectual life—may prove more ritual and ethical than ideological or literary.

Although it is helpful to have this anthology, edited by experts in the field, it is less than helpful to approach texts as if they *were* the religion concerned. Doing so does not promote comparison or understanding, but reverts to a treatment of religions as purely speculative, which is not what makes them a force in our world.

Bruce Chilton is the Bernard Iddings Bell Professor of Religion at Bard College in New York. His most recent book is Christianity: The Basics *(London: Routledge, 2015).*

Not Just Threshing Floors

Threshing Floors in Ancient Israel: Their Ritual and Symbolic Significance

By Jaime L. Waters

(Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2015), xiv + 207 pp., $44 (paperback), $99 (hardcover)

Reviewed by John D. Currid

This monograph is part of the Emerging Scholars series from Fortress Press designed to highlight innovative and creative projects from new scholars in Biblical studies, theology and Church history. This volume by Jaime L. Waters fits well into the series; it is based on Water's Ph.D. dissertation from Johns Hopkins University. Fortress Press should be commended for publishing these works and thus encouraging young scholars in their studies and writing. Waters is currently an assistant

professor of Catholic Studies at DePaul University in Chicago.

The topic of her book, threshing floors in ancient Israel, sounds perhaps trivial and trite to the common reader. However, we need to be reminded that Israel was primarily a pastoral and agrarian society throughout its history. Often the books of the Bible deal with royalty and elite figures, such as the Books of Samuel that center on Saul, Samuel and David. Much of the everyday, common workings of society are given little attention. This is where fields, such as archaeology, can help fill in the gaps—by providing insights into everyday life. Threshing floors were installations commonly used in ancient Israelite agriculture and therefore need to be studied and understood.

The author's basic theme is to demonstrate that while threshing floors are agricultural spaces where crops are threshed and winnowed, they are also sites for important cultic activities, such as rituals and processions. In the Hebrew Bible, threshing floors were considered sacred spaces connected to Yahweh. He appeared at threshing floors, which were under his control, and he provided the grain threshed and winnowed there.

In five chapters, Waters attempts to demonstrate the common and sacred uses of threshing floors. Chapter 1 provides a brief overview of the nature of threshing floors in archaeology and in textual materials. This is a good introductory chapter, although it is somewhat surprising how thin the archaeological evidence is for threshing floors in ancient Israel. Chapter 2 demonstrates from the Biblical text that Yahweh has control over whether threshing floors are successes or failures: It is Yahweh who blesses or curses them. Chapter 3 deals with legal texts that include material on threshing floors, such as the important pericope of Ruth 3 involving divine invocations that occur on a threshing floor when a legal request is made. Chapter 4 discusses threshing floors used as sacred spaces, especially for cultic activity. Finally, chapter 5 targets the implications of Yahweh's temple in Jerusalem having been built on a threshing floor (2 Chronicles 3:1).

Waters is successful in her presentation and argument. This book is well-written, straightforward and easy to read. I highly recommend it to anyone who wants to learn more about Israelite agricultural practices and the use of space. While some may find it too commonplace or unexciting, it was a delight to me. Then again, my dissertation was on the topic of grain storage practices in Iron Age Palestine!

John D. Currid is the Carl McMurray Professor of Old Testament at Reformed Theological Seminary in Charlotte, North Carolina.

STRATA ANSWERS

What Is It? (from p. 16)

Answer: (A) Razor

Double the sharpness, double the speed? With two cutting edges, this bronze razor was the Gillette Mach 3 of ancient times.

Called the notched razor or cutting-out knife, this razor style was popular during Egypt's New Kingdom. Its two blades are located on opposite ends of its handle. The first cutting edge curves from the razor's tip to a notch in the upper part of the handle where the blade meets the handle. On the other end of the handle, the second blade resembles a slightly flaring chisel.

Dated to the 14th–13th centuries B.C.E., this razor comes from a tomb at Deir el-Balah,* a site in the center of the Gaza Strip on the Mediterranean Sea. Similar razors have been found throughout Egypt, as well as from Late Bronze Age contexts at Beth Shean, Lachish and Tell Jemmeh in the land of Canaan.

*Trude Dothan, "Cultural Crossroads," **BAR**, September/October 1998.

How Many? (from p. 17)

Answer: One

Only Hannah, the mother of Samuel, is identified by name as offering up prayers in the Hebrew Bible (Old Testament).[1] In 1 Samuel 1:10, Hannah prays (Hebrew *wattipallel*) to the Lord for a son. She continues her prayer in 1 Samuel 1:12, and this prayer is referenced in 1 Samuel 1:26–27. In 1 Samuel 2:1, Hannah prays again.

While Hannah is the only woman mentioned by name to pray in the Hebrew Bible, there is nothing to assume this was an extraordinary experience. Even her interaction with Eli the priest suggests that it was not uncommon for women to pray to the Lord. In the passage, Eli admonishes Hannah because he thinks she is drunk, but when he learns that Hannah is not drunk—just praying silently while her lips move—he tells her to "go in peace" (1 Samuel 1:17).

There are other instances in the Hebrew Bible that might be inferred as prayers by women. For example, in Genesis 25:22, Rebekah inquires (Hebrew *daras*) of the Lord, and in Judges 17:2–3, Micah's mother says a blessing and makes an oath, but in neither of these cases does it say that the women prayed. Additionally, a woman might have said the prayer in Psalm 131, but this is not certain.

In the New Testament, as well as in extrabiblical literature, women are recorded as praying. In Acts 1:14, it says that the disciples and certain women, including Mary the mother of Jesus, prayed continuously. First Corinthians 11:2–16 instructs women how to pray—with their heads covered. These passages show that women had the capability and right to pray.

[1] Susan Ackerman, "Hannah's Tears," in Susan Ackerman, Charles E. Carter and Beth Alpert Nakhai, eds., *Celebrate Her for the Fruit of Her Hands: Studies in Honor of Carol L. Meyers* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2015), pp. 13–26.

King Esarhaddon

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there is the issue of the unjustified rape accusations laid against Joseph by the wife of his employer Potiphar, which was mentioned earlier. A very similar motif is found in the Egyptian *Tale of Two Brothers*, which is known from a 12th-century B.C.E. papyrus,[16] where the wife of Anpu, after trying in vain to seduce her husband's brother, Bata, accuses Bata of having sexually assaulted her.

An even closer parallel is found in the so-called Famine Stele, a Ptolemaic period (332–331 B.C.E.) inscription from the Nile island of Sehel not far from Aswan and Elephantine. The text describes how under King Djoser of the Third Dynasty (c. 2670 B.C.E.), a drought caused a seven-year famine in Egypt, how the sage Imhotep found out that the Nile flooding was controlled by the god Khnum of Elephantine, and how that god assured Djoser in a dream that he would make the Nile flow again, thus bringing the famine to an end. Joachim Quack of Heidelberg University has recently shown that references to seven years of plenty and seven years of want are also found in other Late Egyptian texts, which adds to the likelihood that the author(s) of the Joseph story borrowed this motif from an Egyptian source.[17] Perhaps, the final version of the story originated within the Jewish diaspora community that thrived in Upper Egypt from the seventh century B.C.E. onward.[18] Joseph would have been an excellent role model for this community.

We will probably never be able to determine with certainty how many versions of the Joseph story there were, who composed them and when. What we can say, however, with some confidence is that the author(s) of the tale drew central motifs from a variety of sources, some of Egyptian and others possibly of Mesopotamian origin. The story of the rise to power of the Assyrian king Esarhaddon may well have served as a particularly important model for the Biblical authors' treatment of Joseph's conflict with his brothers.

If so, Esarhaddon was not the only Mesopotamian ruler who left his mark on a central figure of the Hebrew Bible. The episode of Moses's birth and upbringing may have been modeled on the birth legend of King Sargon of Akkad,*[19] and the story of Jonah on legends about the Assyrian queen Sammuramât–Semiramis,[20] who like the Biblical prophet had close ties with doves and fish. In all these cases, however, the Biblical authors thoroughly transformed their models.[21] Stripping them of their royal prerogatives, they turned them into characters with complex psyches and unique qualities—characters who have deeply shaped the religious and literary imagination of East and West to this day.

[1] René Girard, *Violence and the Sacred* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1977).
[2] See Maren Niehoff, *The Figure of Joseph in Post-Biblical Jewish Literature* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1992) and Bernhard Lang, *Joseph in Egypt: A Cultural Icon from Grotius to Goethe* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 2009).

*Alan R. Millard, "How Reliable Is Exodus?" **BAR**, July/August 2000.

[3] See Hans Rudolf Vaget, *Thomas Mann, der Amerikaner* (Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer, 2011), pp. 149–156.
[4] See Konrad Schmid, "Die Josephsgeschichte im Pentateuch," in Jan Christian Gertz, Konrad Schmid and Markus Witte, eds., *Abschied vom Jahwisten: Die Komposition des Hexateuch in der jüngsten Diskussion* (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 2002), pp. 83–118.
[5] See Erle Leichty, *The Royal Inscriptions of Esarhaddon, King of Assyria (680–669 B.C.)*, The Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian Period 4 (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2011), pp. 9–26.
[6] See, for example, Stephanie Dalley, *Esther's Revenge at Susa: From Sennacherib to Ahasuerus* (Oxford: Oxord Univ. Press, 2007), pp. 27–40.
[7] Simo Parpola, "The Murderer of Sennacherib," in Bendt Alster, ed., *Death in Mesopotamia* (Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag, 1980), pp. 171–181.
[8] Parpola, "The Murderer of Sennacherib."
[9] For the most recent discussion of Sennacherib's wives and children, see Eckart Frahm, "Family Matters: Psychohistorical Reflections on Sennacherib and His Times," in Isaac Kalimi and Seth Richardson, eds., *Sennacherib at the Gates of Jerusalem* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), pp. 163–222.
[10] Erle Leichty, "Esarhaddon's Exile: Some Speculative History," in Robert D. Biggs and Martha T. Roth, eds., *Studies Presented*

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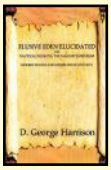

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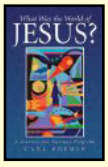

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to Robert D. Biggs (Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 2007), pp. 189–191.
[11] See Steven W. Holloway, *Aššur Is King, Aššur Is King: Religion in the Exercise of Power in the Neo-Assyrian Empire* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), pp. 388–426.
[12] Note that according to Genesis 44:4, 5, 14, Joseph was not only a dream interpreter but also a specialist in the more technical discipline of lecanomancy, a form of divination using a bowl filled with water or oil.
[13] See, most recently, Frederick Mario Fales, "After Ta'yinat: The New Status of Esarhaddon's *Adê* for Assyrian Political History," *Revue d'Assyriologie* 106 (2012), pp. 133–158.
[14] Herbert Niehr, *Weisheitliche, magische und legendarische Erzählungen: Aramäischer Aḥiqar* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2007).
[15] See Kim Ryholt, "The Assyrian Invasion of Egypt in Egyptian Literary Tradition," in Mogens Trolle Larsen and Jan Gerrit Dercksen, eds., *Assyria and Beyond: Studies Presented to Mogens Trolle Larsen* (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 2004), pp. 483–510.
[16] For a translation, see Miriam Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, vol. 2 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), pp. 203–211. Because of the early date of the papyrus leaves, some doubt as to whether the tale would have been available to the author(s) of the Joseph story.
[17] Joachim Quack, "Danaergeschenk des Nil?" in Angelika Berlejung, ed., *Disaster and Relief Management: Katastrophen und ihre Bewältigung* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012), pp. 333–381.
[18] See Joseph M. Modrzejewski, *The Jews of Egypt: From Rameses II to Emperor Hadrian* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1995), pp. 21–44.
[19] See Brian Lewis, *The Sargon Legend* (Cambridge, MA: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1980).
[20] M. Weinfeld, "Semiramis: Her Name and Her Origin," in Hayim Tadmor, Mordechai Cogan and Israel Eph'al, eds., *Ah, Assyria ...: Studies in Assyrian History and Ancient Near Eastern Historiography Presented to Hayim Tadmor* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1991), pp. 99–103; see also Eckart Frahm, "Of Doves, Fish, and Goddesses," forthcoming.
[21] See Eckart Frahm, *Geschichte des alten Mesopotamien* (Ditzingen: Stuttgart, 2013), pp. 254–272.

AUTHORS

Ben-Amos

Dan Ben-Amos ("From Eden to Ednah—Lilith in the Garden," p. 54) is the Professor of Folklore and Asian and Middle Eastern Studies at the University of Pennsylvania.

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Lilith in the Garden

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Entomological Society 12 (1917), pp. 9–13; Louis Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews*, vol. 1 (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1909–1946), pp. 64–69; Ginzberg, *Legends*, vol. 5, pp. 277–278, note 3 and "index"; Susannah Heschel, "Lilith," *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 2nd ed., vol. 13 (Detroit: Thomson Gale, 2007), pp. 19–20; Siegmund Hurwitz, *Lilith: The First Eve: Historical and Psychological Aspects of the Dark Feminine*, revised ed., Gela Jacobson, trans. (Einsiedeln, Switzerland: Daimon Verlag, 1999); Rebecca Lesses, "Exe(o)rcising Power: Women as Sorceresses, Exorcists, and Demonesses in Babylonian Jewish Society of Late Antiquity," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 69 (2001), pp. 343–375; Raphael Patai, *The Hebrew Goddess*, 3rd enlarged ed. (Detroit: Wayne State Univ. Press, 1990), pp. 221–254; Judith Plaskow and Donna Berman, eds., *The Coming of Lilith: Essays on Feminism, Judaism and Sexual Ethics, 1972–2003* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2005); Gershom Scholem, "Lilith," *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 2nd ed., vol. 13 (Detroit: Thomson Gale, 2007), pp. 17–19; Gershom Scholem, *Elements of the Kabbalah and Its Symbolism*, J. Ben-Shelomoh, trans. from German (Jerusalem: The Bialik Institute, 1976) [Hebrew], pp. 385–386; Gershom Scholem, "New Chapters in the Story of Ashmedai and Lilith," *Tarbiz* 19 (1947/48), pp. 165–175 [Hebrew]; H. Torczyner, "A Hebrew Incantation Against Night-Demons from Biblical Times," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 6 (1947), pp. 18–29; J. Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstition: A Study in Folk Religion* (New York: Behrman's Jewish Book House, 1939), pp. 36–37, 277–278, note 33.

[6] Karen Randolph Joines, *Serpent Symbolism in the Old Testament* (Haddonfield, NJ: Haddonfield House, 1974), pp. 16–41; Haya Bar-Izhak, "Men and Women Narrating the Myth of the Creation of Woman—Hegemonic and Subversive Message," in Hagar Salamon and Avigdor Shinan, eds., *Textures: Culture, Literature, Folklore for Galit Hasan-Rokem*, vol. 2, Jerusalem Studies in Jewish Folklore 28, Jerusalem Studies in Hebrew Literature 25 (Jerusalem: The Mandel Institute of Jewish Studies, 2013), pp. 679–691 [Hebrew].

[7] Vincent Lloyd-Russell, "The Serpent as the Prime Symbol of Immortality, Has Its Origin in the Semitic-Sumerian Culture," Ph.D. dissertation (Los Angeles: University of Southern California, 1938).

[8] A voluminous scholarly literature about the trickster figure is available; a selection that can serve as a starting point for further reading follows: Lewis Hyde, *Trickster Makes the World: Mischief, Myth, and Art* (New York: Farrar Strauss, 1998); William J. Hynes and William G. Doty, eds., *Mythical Trickster Figures: Contours, Contexts, and Criticism* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1993); Robert D. Pelton, *The Trickster in West Africa: A Study of Mythic Irony and Sacred Delight* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980); Paul Radin, *The Trickster: A Study in American Indian Mythology* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1956).

[9] The verb *yada* (knew) that generated in English the expression "carnal knowledge" occurs in the Hebrew Bible, referring to sexual intercourse followed by pregnancy (Genesis 4:1, 17, 25; 1 Samuel 1:19) or negatively to describe virginity (Genesis 24:16; Judges 11:39; 21:12).

Q&C

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Conflicting Aspects of Human Nature

Shawna Dolansky ("The Multiple Truths of Myths," **BAR**, January/February 2016) sees the conflicting descriptions of creation in the Book of Genesis as attempts by the Biblical writers to explain various aspects of their own lives, thus

presenting the modern reader with "many truths about the cultures that composed and disseminated them." The famed rabbinic scholar and philosopher, Joseph B. Soloveitchik, in his essay, "The Lonely Man of Faith," sees the two parallel Biblical accounts of man's creation as describing two conflicting aspects of man's nature. In Genesis 1, man is majestic and creative, seeking control of his environment, while in Genesis 2 and 3, man is humble, lonely and submissive, seeking redemption and a relationship with God and his fellow man. The Torah thus explains for us the complexity in the human condition—portraying man as both thinker and creator, servant and master.

RABBI SETH LANDA, M.D.
TEANECK, NEW JERSEY

Loved All the Brouhaha

I loved all of the brouhaha about whether it could be possible that Eve might have been created from Adam's penis bone.

MONA B. GOODMAN
HARTLEY, TEXAS

Keep it Up!

Please keep challenging our thinking and printing both sides in Q&C.

JACOB EIGE
RALEIGH, NORTH CAROLINA

CORRECTION

Manicheans

The reference to Manchurians in "Monastic Views of Work" (**BAR**, January/February 2016) is a clerical error and should refer to Manicheans, instead. Manicheans are followers of Manichaeism, a religion founded by the Persian Mani, who sought to reform Christianity, in the latter half of the third century.

"For the message of the cross is foolishness to those who are perishing, but to those of us who are being saved it is the Power of God." I Corinthians 1:18
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Archaeological Views

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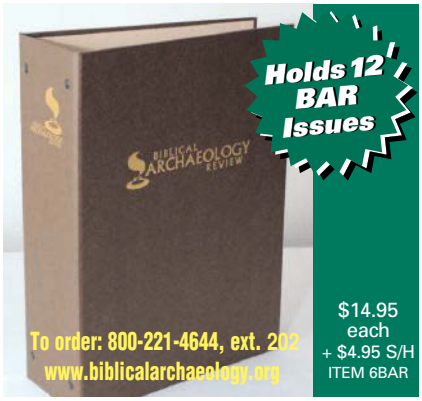
Matthew 27:55 and Luke 23:49. The difference in height between the "garden" stratum and Golgotha in the Holy Sepulchre is considerable.

The GPIA's excavation of the Church of the Redeemer opens a window into 2,000 years of Jerusalem's history—from the time of King Herod until the visit of German Emperor Wilhelm II to Jerusalem in 1898. This story is now told with the help of 3D animation in the GPIA's archaeological park, which opened in 2012.

Meanwhile, the search for the Second Wall goes on.

Marcel Serr is a historian and political scientist who studied at the University of Trier. He currently serves as the Assistant Director of the German Protestant Institute of Archaeology in Jerusalem.

Dieter Vieweger is the Director-General of the German Protestant Institute of Archaeology (GPIA) in Jerusalem and Amman. He is also a Research Professor for Archaeology at the Witten/Herdecke University and Full Professor at the Kirchliche Hochschule Wuppertal. In addition he serves as the Director of the Biblical Archaeological Institute Wuppertal.



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Chasing Canonical Characters

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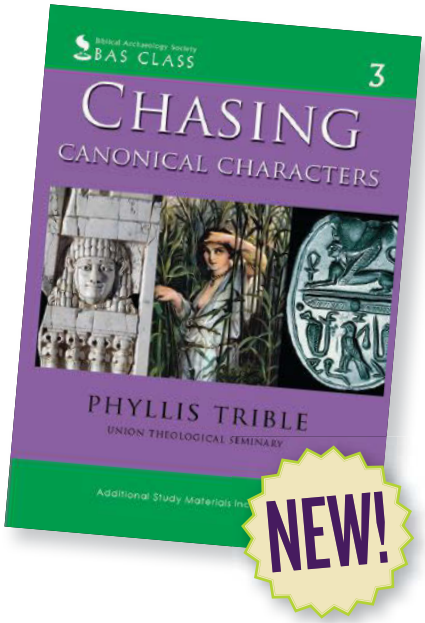

The colorful personalities within the Biblical narrative usually are what makes the ancient texts come alive. In *Chasing Canonical Characters*, Phyllis Trible—a founding scholar of contemporary feminist Biblical criticism—uses literary, rhetorical and feminist methods to weave a vibrant tapestry illuminating the tales of the Hebrew Bible and the unforgettable characters found within them.

LECTURE SUMMARIES

1: God the Creator
Trible explores the highly structured text of Genesis 1 and the priestly creation narrative, as well as the relationship between humans and ecology.

2: Eve
Using literary and feminist criticism, Trible throws away the assumptions of what the Western world thinks of Eve and reinterprets her character, the creation of humankind and the development of human sexuality.

3: Adam
"Passive, bland and belly-oriented" is how Trible describes the character of Adam. Follow along as she discusses the Genesis 2-3 narratives in three sections, highlighting patriarchal critiques within the text.

4: Hagar, Sarah, and Abraham
By exploring the original Hebrew, Trible boldly shares new dimensions within these Biblical relationships that enhance and correct popular interpretations.

5: Ishmael and Isaac
Explore the details of the sacrifice of Isaac narratives through the lens of idolatry and beyond to the tensions running throughout the founding family stories.

6: Jacob
An in-depth examination of the textual ambiguities that abound around Jacob and his Genesis narrative.

7: Miriam
The many roles of the nation's deliverer are presented with seven highlights that might surprise many viewers.

8: Elijah and Jezebel
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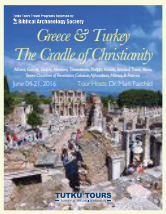

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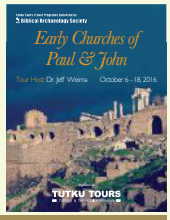

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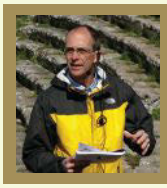

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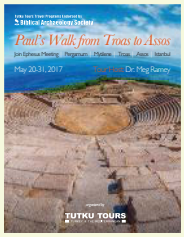

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